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ABSTRACT

Recently, there has been much discussion and media attention focusing on women in rural areas, especially on women in farming. It is timely to delve into the research which has been done in this area in the past, what research is presently being undertaken and what research concerns are emerging for the future. The chronological review presented in this document examines research literature concerning women in rural areas. This research begins in the 1930s and continues to the present. The review traces the development of the research, looks at how research is affected by events, and evaluates how research has affected women and women's needs and issues. The review also serves as a resource for those who wish to compare the differences between women and their concerns due to their location in rural rather than urban areas. In some cases, the research also deals with class and race. Following the review is a discussion of research methods and theories, a list of research questions and needs for the future and a concluding commentary on the present status of women in rural areas. The commentary is based on popular literature, attitude surveys and current events. All research studies included in this review are abstracted in Appendix A, entitled 'Annotated Bibliography of Women in Rural America.' Popular literature, monographs, agricultural bulletins on the subject of U.S. rural-based women are also included in this bibliography. (Author/JM)

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An Assessment of Research Needs of Women in the Rural United States: Literature Review and Annotated Bibliography

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JUN 27 1977

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE REVIEW OF RESEARCH LITERATURE ON WOMEN IN RURAL AMERICA

What do Rural Women Want?

Over fifty years ago, women at two agricultural conferences(1) completed a list of demands. In 1976, participants at a conference on rural women and girls(2) also compiled a list. In juxtaposition, the positions held then and now are remarkably similar:

1922 and 1926	1976
THE WOMEN DESIRED RECOGNITION OF THE VALUE OF THEIR WORK, TO BE CLASSED AS "WOMEN," NOT "FARM" OR "RURAL" WOMEN, TO BE RECOGNIZED AS WOMEN OF ABILITY AND UNDERSTANDING, AND AS A VIABLE SOCIAL FORCE	THE WOMEN DESIRED RECOGNITION, FULLER UTILIZATION OF THEIR ABILITIES, AND GREATER RESPECT IN LAW AND PUBLIC CONSCIOUSNESS FOR THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE HOME, FARM AND COMMUNITY: THEY EXPRESSED LACK OF CONFIDENCE AND SELF ESTEEM, AND THE NEED TO EDUCATE THOSE IN POWER TO RECOGNIZE THE COMPETENCE AND POTENTIAL OF WOMEN.

These lists express the feeling that women in rural areas are not being recognized, respected or utilized to an adequate extent as individuals. Implicit in these demands is a desire for identity and self fulfillment. Although there have been many changes in rural life in fifty years, women in 1976 voice concerns very similar to those of their foremothers.

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(1) See "What Do Women Want" in Appendix A for information on the 1926 National Congress of Farm Women, and Atkeson (1926) for a report of the 1922 Agricultural Conference called by President Harding.

(2) From a report called "Consultation Session on Educational Equity for Rural Women and Girls," held June, 1976, in Wisconsin and sponsored by The Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, Washington, D.C.

Women in Rural America: The Farmer's Wife

Recently, there has been much discussion and media attention focusing on women in rural areas, especially on women in farming. Emerging topics in this discussion include the "changing role of farm women" and the "female or woman" farmer(3). Although the term "woman farmer" may soon be as outdated as "lady doctor," it does point out the prevalent societal assumption that farmers are male. There are two themes: a) women who are farmers are unusual, therefore the prefix "woman" or "female" before "farmer" and b) there is a change in the roles that women perform on the farm.

There is also a decided emphasis on women in the role of "farm wife" in the popular literature. Just as women as a whole are termed "housewives," women residing on farms are currently referred to as "farm wives." The naming of these women as wives, with the attachment of a location "house" and "farm," limits how and what women are being described. Women in rural areas who do not live on farms and women who are not wives have less media visibility.

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(3) Representative articles include:
a) Marjory Hart, "The Changing Role of the Farm Women," American Agri-Women Newsletter, October 1976.
b) "Women Farmers," Newsweek, November 8, 1976.
c) Jean Todd Freeman, "Today's Farmer, Tough, Competent and Female," Redbook, May 1976.
d) "Why Did You Become a Farm Wife?" Farm Wife News, November 1976.

Because of this attention on women in nonmetropolitan areas, especially women on farms, it is timely to delve into the research which has been done in this area in the past, what research is presently being undertaken and what research concerns are emerging for the future. The review which follows serves as a contribution to the task of documenting the consequence of women's subordinate place in society and what effects this has had on women who live in the rural United States as reflected in the research.

The Review of the Research

The following chronological review examines research literature concerning women in rural areas. This research begins in the 1930's and continues to the present. The review:

1) traces the development of the research,
2) analyzes the kinds of research undertaken,
3) examines problems and solutions identified in the research,
4) looks at how research is affected by events, and
5) evaluates how research has affected women and women's needs and issues.

The review also serves as a resource for those who wish to compare the differences between women and their concerns due to their location in rural rather than urban areas, compounded with their status as women. In some cases, the research also deals with class and race.

The term "rural" in this work is generally defined as all open country and places with total populations less than 2,500 persons. Thus, rural women include those who live on farms (census category rural farm), in the open country, and in small towns and villages (census category rural non-farm). However, some studies reviewed did not specify in these terms the nature of the rural population studied. The term "rural America" is a popular term used to define the rural United States. As used here, it does not include the other Americas. Of the twenty-three studies in this review, fifteen utilize urban-rural comparison variables.

Following the review is a discussion of research methods and theories, a list of research questions and needs for the future and a concluding commentary on the present status of women in rural areas. The commentary is based on popular literature, attitude surveys and current events.

All research studies included in this review are abstracted in Appendix A, entitled "Annotated Bibliography of Women in Rural America." Popular literature, monographs, agricultural bulletins on the subject of United States rural-based women are also included in this bibliography.

References in the text to the bibliography are by notation of the author's last name and year of publication.

Items found in library reference indexes, journals such as *Rural Sociology*, more general bibliographies, a CAIN(4) computer search that provided 183 citations, an ERIC(5) search of 29 citations, exhaustive correspondence worldwide with other researchers and professionals concerned with this topic, and searches in libraries and universities in Boston, New York City, Philadelphia, and University Park, Pennsylvania, are the basis of material reviewed. All titles which could be located were reviewed. Titles which could not be located or related publications are included in Appendix D, entitled "Bibliographic Addendum." There is a separate nonannotated bibliographic listing on women in rural areas worldwide (Appendix C). This international bibliography is less exhaustive than the main bibliography, but includes recent articles provided by the CAIN search and therefore supplements the already existing annotated bibliography on "Women in Worldwide Development" (see Buvinic in Appendix E, entitled "Bibliography of Bibliographies of Women in rural America"). For the review, research based on quanitative data was selected for analysis from the rest of the material found in the bibliographic search. This research was then analyzed as to time, author, place, terminology, source of funding, methodology, data base, purpose, content and results. Through this operation it became apparent that the chronological ordering of the research was the best way to present it for review purposes. The analysis of the research is therefore linked to historical events. Since the focus of this review is research about women, the treatment of women in the research and the way this treatment has changed over time provided appropriate headings for the five decades covered in the review.

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(4) The CAIN (CAtaloging and INdexing) data base is the machine-readable file generated by the National Agricultural Library and corresponds to its printed publication, the *Bibliography of Agriculture*. Approximately 12,000 records are added each month. The on-line file goes back to 1970.

(5) The ERIC (Educational Resources Information Center) data base is maintained by the U.S. Office of Education. Each month about 1,000 new reports and 1,500 new journal articles are added to the on-line file, which goes back to 1966.

Overview

In order to examine critically how women have been and are being perceived and what this means in terms of sociological theories and perspectives, sexism has to be taken into account. Much research is unavoidingly and unintentionally sexist, because it is undertaken within a society that has institutionalized sexism. From its beginning in 1848 until today, the woman's movement has fostered the identification and definition of the nature of sexism just as the civil rights movement focused attention on the nature of racism. Both "isms" are present when people and institutions differentiate solely on the basis of sex or race. Although there is a differentiation on the basis of people's capabilities, intelligence and physical characteristics, there is more variation intrasex than intersex. The only substantiated differentiation on the basis of sex concerns the reproductive functions. Historically, this function has carried over to define all of women's activities.

Attitudes, values and societal definitions of women's roles, importance and place, have caused two serious and interrelated oversights notable in research on women. In a discussion on planning and women in development, Irene Tinker(6) refers to these as the errors of omission and reinforcement.

The error of omission occurs when researchers fail to acknowledge the traditional productive roles which women play. For instance, women have always been farmers, not just in the sense of the "farmer" as we envision the man behind the plow, and now on the combine, but in the sense of the woman tilling the land, producing and processing food, caring for livestock and bearing and caring for children. She cannot be accurately termed a "hired hand," or "unpaid family laborer," and should no more be primarily identified as the "farmer's wife" than should the male be primarily identified as the "farmer's husband." She is a farmer.

Besides being farmers, women are also farm managers, breeders, and ranchers, and occupy countless other occupational categories associated with agriculture in their own right. There is no single type of "rural" woman. Some live and work on family farms. Some live on corporate farms and live more like suburban women. Others live in rural communities, or rural non-farm areas.

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(6) See Tinker and Bramsen, the "Introduction: The Seminar on Women in Development," (1976), in Appendix C.

Of women who live on the four million farms in the United States, 92 percent are part of husband-wife teams. Seventy-four thousand women own and manage farms, and 4.5 percent of all farms are headed by women. Women farm workers make up one-fifth of the agriculturally employed as of 1976, but women have an unemployment rate of 4.9 percent compared to male agriculture workers of 2 percent. The majority (57 percent) of unpaid farm laborers are women. Women pursuing educations in agricultural fields has risen from 2.6 percent in 1966 to 13.5 percent in 1974 and to 26 percent in 1976.

What are other facts about women in rural America? A quarter of the female population lives there. The median earnings of year-round, full-time women workers in agricultural occupations are less than half that of men: $2,503 compared to $5,619. Women in agriculture not only earn less than men, but entry level positions are lower for women and chances for promotions and raises are less than for men (Knotts and Kuznik, 1975).

Women in rural areas who work for wages outside the home are a growing force as more and more enter the labor market. Rural women who are employed are most likely to be 20-24 years of age or between 40-55, which means that many leave the labor force during the child-bearing and child-rearing years. Generally speaking, about two-thirds of rural women participate in the labor market on a full-time basis. Most work women do is low paid or unpaid labor(7).

The recent focus on the "changing role of farm women" can be looked at from a different perspective. Have women's roles changed, or is there now an acknowledgement of the productive part women play? Women may have been overlooked. A more appropriate description of what is happening may be "the changing consciousness of women and men about the role of women on farms."

The other problem of research which Tinker describes is the error of reinforcement. The error of reinforcement occurs when researchers reinforce values "already in existence in the society which restricts women's activities to household, child-bearing and child-rearing tasks"(8).

In this review, for example, although all twenty-three studies involved topics concerning women in rural areas, seven directly focused on _farm_ wives and six on _farm_ women, making a total of thirteen who looked at the farm population (4 percent of the population). Of the eight researchers who studied rural or "rurban" areas and women in general, all but one researcher focused on these women in terms of their position as wives, mothers and members of families. A total of eight studies were done principally on women as wives, and that is how they are termed in the studies. Only two studies focused on girls. Very few studies focused on women as persons, with the roles of wife and mother as part of the total makeup of the individuals involved. Women are not very visible in the literature, and when they appear, they are most frequently examined in light of their roles as wives and mothers.

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(7) Statistics from: The Congressional Clearinghouse on Women's Rights, Washington, D.C. and _A Statistical Portrait of Women in the U.S._, U.S. Census Bureau Series P-23 No. 58, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, April, 1976.

(8) Tinker, op. cit.

Researchers, both male and female, are submerged in particular perspectives that, when considering the whole spectrum of human experience and involvement, cannot and should not continue to influence social science research. Stereotyping by sex is no more valid now than ever in the past.

In the introduction to Another Voice(9), Millman and Kanter state their reasons for collecting and publishing a book of research reviews in different areas of sociology and how they relate to women. Their purpose is aptly stated, and this review of the research on women in rural America was undertaken for similar reasons:

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(9) Marcia Millman and Rosabeth Moss Kanter (eds.), Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science, New York: Anchor Books/Doubleday, 1975.

> Our purpose was not primarily to see whether women are treated stereotypically in social science, although that might be an unavoidable feature of the analysis. Nor do we wish to restrict our exploration to examining women's neglected participation in the social world [several excellent collections, such as Huber's(10), meets this need]. Instead, we wish to reassess the basic theories, paradigms, substantive concerns, and methodologies of sociology and the social sciences to see what changes are needed to make social theory and research reflect the multitude of both female and male realities and interests. We also wanted to provide critical bibliographic reviews of existing studies about women to help orient the readers who wish to do further reading and research. (p. viii)

In their collection, Millman and Kanter outline some themes which emerge in the research which limit conventional social science. These points fit under the general headings of Tinker's errors of omission and reinforcement. Under errors of omission comes the idea of amplifying social science research to include areas not previously researched. In this review, the section on research questions is a list of these omissions. Some of the areas were not researched due to the one-sided vision involved when researchers do not go beyond a view of women forged out of traditional societal attitudes which more recently have been properly brought into perspective with current data(11). Superceding these attitudes would be as simple as viewing women on the farm, for example, as active partners and individuals, not simply as "farm wives."

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(10) Joan Huber (ed.), Changing Women in a Changing Society, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973.

(11) Joan Huber, "Review Essay: Sociology," Signs, Spring 1976.

Another bias included under the omission and reinforcement headings and which threads through much of the research on women is that the supportive, expressive, informal and private side of life is ignored or not valued as a focus for research.

Still another basic error is generalizing without regard to sex as a factor. Studies purport to be about "people" when the data is actually on men. Sex of researchers, funder, informants and/or subjects is not taken into account. Differences in male-female response are not recorded. These differences are sometimes crucial to the analysis, since women and men occupy different spheres and entertain different perspectives. For example, in a 1976 International Harvester's nationwide poll of 1,000 farm households, when asked, "If something happened to the husband in your household, could the wife successfully manage the farm operation?" women and men had different responses. While 56 percent of the men said women could either manage the farm alone or with help, 81 percent of the women declared they could do it. A question the survey did not include was: "If something happened to the wife in your household, could the husband successfully manage the farm operation?"

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH LITERATURE OF WOMEN IN RURAL AMERICA

Women and the Use of Time

Sociological research focusing primarily on women did not emerge until the late 1920's and early 1930's, when four researchers studied the use of time by women. They compared time spent in different tasks using urban, rural farm and rural nonfarm categories. These studies included Ina Crawford's "The Use of Time by Farm Women" (1927), Maud Wilson's "Use of Time by Oregon Homemakers" (1929), Grace Wasson's "The Use of Time by South Dakota Farm Homemakers" (1930) and Lucy Studley's "Relationship of the Farm Home to Farm Business" (1931). These four women were prompted to carry out these studies by the passage of the Purnell Act of 1925, in which Congress appropriated funds to support research in rural areas. The Purnell National Committee on Rural Home Management Studies chose "The Present Use of Time by Homemakers" as one of their national priorities. These four studies, sponsored by the agricultural experiment stations in Minnesota, South Dakota, Idaho and Oregon, pursued this directive.

The findings showed that women on farms spent longer hours working in and outside the home than their urban counterparts. Crawford found that "in comparing the use of time by farm homemakers with that of town homemakers, the greatest difference found is in the amount of time spent on the other or outside work, and that difference is to be expected. Farm women spent 5.8 percent of their time on this division of labor in contrast to 0.1 percent spent by town women" (1927:8).

In the category of most wanted purchasable items, the Crawford study also found that farm women desired plumbing and lighting systems. Town women preferred electrical appliances and new furniture (1927:12). In addition, the same study reflected the ideal and goals of the time:

> One of the main objectives in the present method of teaching Home Economics is to instill into the minds of girls the idea that no nobler profession exists than that of homemaker. There are the chosen few who have a special talent but are not gifted or trained in the art of homemaking, who prefer to leave the household responsibilities to servants and render their services to the family by continuing their former professions. (1927:12)

Women were seen in light of ascribed and well defined roles, and in Crawford's opinion, those women who rejected the societal norms were: a) somehow unfit or ignorant of domestic work, and b) of a socioeconomic level to have household and child care duties taken care of by domestic help.

These studies were significant because they were the first in which the behavior of women in rural areas was looked at as the primary object of study. Definite differences were found in the lifestyles, situations and needs of women in rural and urban areas. The government had decided to fund such projects and made the studies of management of time and energy in the home a national priority.

It is also important to note the way women were termed in the various studies. For example, Crawford titled her study "The Use of Time by Farm Women," and Wasson and Wilson used the occupational status, "homemaker" in their titles. Studley, although her study was essentially a time study as well, titled it "Relationship of the Farm Home to Farm Business." By analyzing the way terminology changes over time, the frame of reference of the researchers can be traced and identified.

Although very simple in design, these four ground-breaking studies paved the way for the recognition of the contribution of the women in rural America, brought out special concerns of women in rural areas, and fostered other research of this type.

Women and "Hard Times"

In the thirties, research went into areas beyond time studies of women and their contribution as homemakers. General economic depression and reduced household incomes forced research to focus on the economic problems of women in rural areas. Studies done in this decade singled out women and their economic needs, requirements and position. The studies included: Orie Hatcher's "Rural Girls in the

City for Work" (1930), E. L. Morgan's "Rural Women and the Works Progress Program: A Partial Analysis of Levels of Living" (1937), and Margaret Hagood's "Mothers of the South: Portriture of the White Tenant Farm Women" (1939).

Hatcher studied the migration of rural girls who left farm backgrounds to seek work in the cities. The study concluded that rural girls were forced to migrate in order to find employment. Employment opportunities in rural areas were scarce, so women migrated to the cities where they found service type employment. The general cultural emphasis on marriage and homemaking for their age group was apparent in this study and studies at the time. For a descripton, see Nora Miller's "The Girls in the Rural Family" (1935).

Morgan et al., in their analysis of women and the Works Progress Administration, concluded that the 553 women who participated in the sewing room program required the assistance to survive. The study seemed to try to justify the program, not in terms of whether the program was necessary so much as it was in terms of the necessity of providing programs for women. The study went into great detail in order to give more than adequate evidence that the women in the sample required outside assistance. The fact that the majority of the women were married required the verification of their position as principal wage earner, under the assumption that married women had no justification for seeking employment.

The researchers also advised that the employment needs of persons who came within the scope of the program, and others of its type, should be determined in advance (1937:29). This could be taken to mean that the pressing needs of women be taken into account before developing programs. Women in the study, for example, desired training for clerical, agricultural, manufacturing professions and trades, and service occupations as well as the sewing experience.

Hagood (1939) explored the deprivation and suffering of the white tenant farm women. It was one of the first studies to bring out role strains for women, by analyzing the stress of these women's triple roles as mother, housekeeper and field laborer.

These studies were a definite departure from the concerns of the earlier decade. The scope of women under concern widened decidedly, and came to include young women, single women, tenant farmers, and women who were not employable in the private sector because of lack of job opportunities and their age, training, and experience. The studies all concerned women who were workers both in and out of the traditionally defined female sphere of the household, and dealt with the economic and social realities faced by women of varying age, position and background.

Although not specifically on women, another study at this time deserves attention. In 1932, Walter Wilcox et al. published a study entitled "Relation of Variations in the Human Factor to Financial Returns in Farming." This study attempted to look at the success of dairy farmers and aspects such as their prior experience in farming, intellectual aptitude, inheritance of property, genetic makeup, attitudes and motivation. For part of the study, the farmers were asked to rank 15 items which in their opinion contributed to their occupational success. In this ranking, the item "cooperation of wives" appeared second highest on the list, coming after first ranked "experience in farming." The study also found a high degree of relationship between partnership of the women and the earnings of the farm.

The researchers apparently did not expect the factor of the "wife" to have so much impact in the study. They explain, "A comparison of the earnings of these two groups of families indicates that the farmers were entirely right in giving so much credit for their success in farming to the cooperation of their wives" (1932:15). The researchers defined their idea of cooperation by stating ". . . all those ways in which the wife of a farmer may or may not be of help, some of which are: helping make the farm plans, taking an active interest and understanding the many farm problems, assisting in making adjustments of the farm budget, and helping occasionally with the chore work" (1932:15).

For these researchers the idea that a woman contributed to the farm in a significant way, or even understood farm problems, was treated with surprise and accommodation. The focal point of this study was men, and as a factor of subsidiary importance, their "wives." The study also included the "effect of grown sons at home." No mention was made of daughters except that in one table children were categorized by sex.

Women During the Second World War

While during the thirties researchers looked at women in their own right, in the following decade research on women ceased as the U.S. entered the war. Millions of women were recruited into the Women's Land Army, which helped keep agricultural production alive during the labor drain (See Colvin, 1942; Hall, 1943 and 1945; and "Need for Women in Agriculture," 1944). Although no research was found to include in this review, it is important to remember that during the war years women were in the fields performing every conceivable type of agricultural task. The women in the Land Army represented varied backgrounds, occupations, classes and ages. As research moved into the next decades, the performance record of women from both rural and urban areas (women from urban areas participated in the Land Army or came out to the fields to help on weekends and holidays) was forgotten. In the 1950's and 60's, the trend was to look at women as they related to men and family life--as wives and mothers--and restrict the analysis to the spheres which included these functions.

Women's Place

In the 1950's, women reappeared in studies. In 1951 Paul Landis published "Two Generations of Rural and Urban Women Appraise Marital Happiness." Landis found no differences in the marital happiness of rural and urban women. He did find that economic factors were the most mentioned in regards to marital bliss, problems or adjustments.

Robert Blood, Jr., in his 1958 study, "The Division of Labor in City and Farm Families" confirmed his hypothesis that farm women performed a larger share of household tasks than city wives and that they "helped" their husbands with their work. Blood's findings reaffirmed those that came out of the time studies of over twenty years earlier. The result of Blood's study was the identification of the separation of the work place from the place of residence for most urban husbands as one major difference between urban and farm family life. Concurrently, "farm women invest substantially more time and energy in tasks around the home which contribute directly to the physical or financial well being of other family members" (1958:173).

In his discussion, Blood suggested that urban women were "spoiled" and farm women were "Amazons" (1958:173). Wondering out loud why farm women spent so much more time on tasks in and out of the home, he concluded that it was in the nature of farming as an occupation, which "involves many tasks which require little strength or skill and for which women can therefore be utilized as helpers" (1958:173).

Near the conclusion of his study, Blood mentioned the fact that the median urban family income in 1954 was almost double that of farm families. This economic factor more than any other would seem to be a more reasonable way of accounting for the fact that farm women, far from being some special species of superwomen, were normal and productive members of farming operations which required and needed their participation in order to survive. In Blood's frame of reference, however, women and men were placed in well delineated categories, and in the case of farm women, defined as abnormal and incapable.

Murray Straus conducted two studies, "The Role of the Wife in the Settlement of the Columbia Basin Project" (1958) and "Family Role Differentiation and Technological Change in Farming" (1960), which also placed men and women into categories. In the first study he concluded that "wives of high-success farmers were found to be a better adjusted, more optimistic and persevering group than were the wives of low-income settlers" (1960:220). His definition of "better adjusted" included the acceptance of male dominance by the "high group" wives (1958:62),(1).

In the later study, Straus used the idea of a "wife role factor" where the wife's ability to play an "integrative-supportive" role was tested in regards to technological competence of the husband. The functions of a woman who played an "integrative-supportive" role were defined as mainly family oriented and emotionally supportive, rather than farm-oriented and work contributions (1960:225). Low success group wives were those women who exhibited a general "lack of orientation" to the homemaking role (1960:223).

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(1) The subsidiary role expected of females is equated with the make-up of an unhealthy individual in Inge K. Broverman, et al., "Sex Role Stereotypes: A Current Appraisal," Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 28 (2), 1972.

Straus characterized women in this manner:

> For the high competence group, technological complexity, perhaps beyond the wife's knowledge or skill, apparently attenuates the possibilities for the wife to make a useful managerial contribution. (1960:225)

He did not find a causal relationship in regards to whether the wife's ability to play an "integrative-supportive" role facilitated her husband with regard to technological competence, or whether it was the husband's increasing technological competence which encouraged the wife's emphasis on the "integrative-supportive" role. Just as in the earlier analysis of the Blood (1958) study, income level may have a more probable bearing on technological change in farming and the resultant shift in the visible role enactment by husband and wife. These studies, by trying to find relationships between stereotypical visions of "wives" and farm success, technological advancement, or participation in farm work, show how woman's position can be misinterpreted by not viewing her as an individual participant within a larger framework.

Although overall structural forces had been a factor for research in the thirties, and women were critical in carrying U.S. agriculture through the war, the fifties saw research come to focus on the individual level. Women were viewed as "wives," on a one-sided, particularistic level. This perspective restricted women to a sphere delineated by males and described in male terms. Economic factors, evident in the earlier studies and brought out by women's productive function during the forties, were not stressed. These studies laid the basis for work done in the 60's which continued to view women in a similar, restricted manner.

E. A. Wilkening began his studies of joint decision making in the late 50's but because most of his work on this subject was published in the 60's, a discussion of his studies will be included in the following section.

Women as Wives

In the 1960's, studies of women were carried out in regard to position in the family, role differentiation, decision making, marital happiness, migratory status, and patterns in education, fertility and employment. Except for two studies, women were viewed principally as "wives."

E. A. Wilkening, together with other researchers, conducted a number of studies on joint decision making and aspirations in regard to farm families. They include: "Joint Decision Making in Farm Families as a Function of Status and Role," 1958; "A Comparison of Husband and Wife

Responses Concerning Who Makes Farm and Home Decisions," 1963; "Dimensions of Aspiration, Work Roles and Decision Making of Farm Husbands and Wives in Wisconsin," 1967; "Aspirations and Task Involvement as Related to Decision Making among Farm Husbands and Wives," 1968; and "Consensus in Aspirations for Farm Improvement and Adoption of Farm Practices," 1969.

Wilkening discovered a curvilinear relationship between income and the level of joint decision making. This type of decision making is low in both high and low income families (1958). His findings were that the involvement of the husband and wife in decision making pertaining to family and farm is a product of the goals and means for attaining these goals, which may change over time, as well as a product of institutionalized definitions of husband and wife roles.

Wilkening was skeptical of the simplistic model of task segregation as seen in earlier studies, and was to conclude that "While the division of labor between farm and household was expected, the division of labor within the family area between husband and wife suggests the responsibility for family tasks follow the interests and availability of the spouses rather than following traditional role expectations that the woman ought to be responsible for all household tasks" (1967:711). While there was "a tendency for a division of labor between farm and family tasks," Wilkening also found that "farm wives who participate highly in the farm area do not participate highly in the household area, and those who participated highly in domestic chores do not necessarily participate highly in household maintenance and in children's socialization" (1967:710).

In his 1969 study, Wilkening found that consensus in aspirations between husband and wife is associated with higher adoption than when only one spouse has high aspirations. The former theory that practice adoption is higher when the husband has high and the wife has low aspirations for farm improvement than when the opposite is true was not supported. In the discussion, Wilkening states,

> We have presented here further evidence that the nature of the farm enterprise is affected by the role of the wife. Specifically, our data show that the aspirations of the wife in combination with those of the husband have consequences for the adoption of different types of improved farm practices. The nature of the consequence varies according to the type of practice and is conditioned by the level of farm income and by the wife's involvement in the business side of the farm enterprise. (1969:193)

Just as in the Wilcox study of 1932, Wilkening and Guerrero substantiated the fact that women play an influential role on the farm. But the study categorized the input of the woman in the following manner, "She is more concerned with practices that are observable and affect immediate cash outlay as well as return, whereas the husband is somewhat more concerned with the management aspects of the land and livestock. The consequences of these management practices for economic return, for prestige, or for labor-saving may not be as apparent to the wife" (1969:193). These researchers' analysis of the findings clearly portrayed the woman as being shortsighted and less astute than her husband. When two people act in concert to operate a family farm, generalizing about the two in the manner above makes the researchers fall into the same trap their study just refuted. That is, categorization on the basis of sex is not valid in the interpretation of the data.

Lee Burchinal (Correlates of Marital Satisfaction for Rural Married Couples, 1961) looked at rural-urban differences in marital satisfaction, just as Landis (1951) had ten years earlier. As in the earlier study, no significant difference was found as to place of residence.

Gerald Windham, in his 1963 study, "Formal Participation of Migrant Housewives in an Urban Community," observed "housewives" who lived in cities but migrated from rural areas. For the purposes of this review, there is nothing notable to report. (For a recent case study approach to this issue and a look at the problems facing women who migrate from rural to urban areas see Kahn, 1973).

In 1966 Geraldine Terry, et al. studied the "Labor Force Characteristics of Women in Low-Income Rural Areas of the South." This was a marked departure from the line of previous research and from the focus on women as wives. It examined the labor force experience of women, their attitudes toward employment, and looked at the participation of women in the labor force as related to their position in the family, age, education, and level of living. As compared to national statistics on women, these women had less education, were slightly older, and were willing to work for relatively lower wages than the average.

In 1969 and 1970, James D. Tarver, et al. also varied from the focus on women as wives. Tarver examined the relationship between fertility, years of formal education achieved, the number of employed women and the urban-rural continuum ("Gradients of Urban Influence on the Educational, Employment, and Fertility Patterns of Women," 1969; and "Urban Influence on the Fertility and Employment Patterns of Women Living in Homogeneous Areas," 1970). Tarver found that the closer to a rural area, the higher the fertility level among women, the lower their level of formal education, and the lower the proportion of employed women. Distance from metropolitan areas did provide significant differentials among women in rural and urban areas.

The Seventies: Women Emerge

The Terry and Tarver studies marked the beginning of research in the seventies which classify women as women in the titles and studies, breaking out of the earlier focus on women as wives. Of these studies, the term "women" or "woman" appears in the titles of all of the nine studies except two, which retain the term "wives." Obviously, in some studies the terminology used reflects the goals of the study. Noting this change in the naming of women, however, points out a shift of focus.

Although some research continues to show women primarily as wives and mothers, with men as the focal point, in other works an attempt is made to look at women as the objects and originators of study and in their own right. Taking these studies from early to mid seventies, the following patterns and areas of concern can be observed.

Stanley Eitzen, in his "A Study of Voluntary Association Memberships Among Middleclass Women" (1970), looked at rural-urban comparisons of voluntary association memberships among women. He found that residents of small rural towns had fewer of these memberships than residents of more urban towns and cities.

In 1972, two studies followed the Tarver tradition by looking at women and patterns of fertility, employment and education compared to urban women. Bruce Gardner, in his study, "Economic Aspects of the Fertility of Rural-Farm and Urban Women," found that by purely economic standards, the number of children born per family was affected by certain variables. The more education and higher the income of the female, the fewer children. The more education and income of the male, the more children. Although Gardner stated that he found significant rural-urban differences, he did not elaborate on these differences, preferring instead to say that the "variables in the estimated fertility function, except for race, work in essentially the same way for both rural-farm and urban populations" (1972:523).

James Sweet, in his study, "The Employment of Rural Farm Wives" (1972), found that rural farm women were entering the labor force in growing numbers. His study was an attempt to raise issues in regard to rural women in the work force. He found that women in the South were more likely to be employed in the work force, farm women living in metropolitan areas were more likely to have a paid job, employment rates tended to increase with higher levels of education, and women married to men with nonfarm jobs had higher rates of employment than women married to men in farm jobs. He also listed five research questions for further study in the area.

Barbara Sawer's study, "Predictors of the Farm Wife's Involvement in General Management and Adoption Decisions" (1973), examined the activities which led to women's involvement in decisions. As Wilkening had found, decision-making was found to be a joint effort based on many factors. The woman's involvement came from her participation and involvement in the farm activities in which she had an interest.

In 1974, Harold Feldman and Margaret Feldman conducted a study which found role conflict among rurban (small towns and surrounding areas) welfare women. The study, called "The Relationship Between the Family and Occupational

Functioning in a Sample of Rurban Welfare Women," found conflicts between commitment to home and family and the pressures and necessity of working at a paid job. This was the first study since Hagood (1939) and Terry (1966) to look at the problem of women who have paid employment outside the home and also maintain responsibility for home and family. As the Feldman and Feldman study states, "Working women are different from men who work in that their employment brings on a second job, adding the 'male' task of provider to that of homemaker, wife and mother" (1974:36). In this study, the women received less help in the housework from their husbands than they did from their children. In addition, the women experienced guilt feelings about receiving assistance for these duties (1974:48-49). As in the earlier Hagood and Terry studies, this study concerned low income, welfare, or tenant farm women.

In 1974, Terry, et al. updated their 1966 study by looking at the "Changes in Labor Force Characteristics of Women in Low-Income Rural Areas of the South." They found that the woman's position in the family greatly influenced her employment; that for those women who worked, educational attainment and race had more bearing on occupational choice than did family position; and the difference between the labor force participation rate of farm wives and other women decreased considerably between 1960 and 1966.

In Jeanne Hafstrom's 1974 study, "Early Background and Later Life Style," women with farm, rural and urban backgrounds were compared. This is another study which examined rural-urban differences and women--this time the effect of a woman's early environment and her later aspirations, satisfactions, and attitudes.

This study confined itself to a discussion of women as wives. No significant differences were found among rural-reared, farm-reared, and urban-reared wives in characteristics of family size, ages of wife and husband, number of years married, family income and frequency of money problems. Almost half of the women were employed outside the home. Education levels did tend to differentiate; urban-reared wives had more formal schooling and farm-reared wives the least.

On decision-making, the sample showed rural-urban differences on two questions--which friends the family would see, and the number of children to have. In regard to these questions the study found: "rural-reared wives are living in somewhat more egalitarian families than the other two groups. When one spouse was primarily responsible for deciding these questions, the urban and rural-reared wives, rather than their husbands, were more likely to make the decisions. However, the opposite was true of farm-reared wives" (1974:2).

Attitudinal differences were also found which showed farm-reared women to be the most traditionally oriented of the three groups.

In the Marlys Knutson and Dean Schreiner study

("Income Returns for Working Women by Place of Residence," 1975), an important difference between rural-urban women and their income was found. Their findings:

> The results of the income differential model imply that the woman living in an SMSA area earns more than the woman in a non-SMSA, nonfarm area, all other factors held constant. The data show that the income of a woman in a non-SMSA, nonfarm area was 82 percent of the income of a woman in a SMSA, nonfarm area with the difference in the cost of living between the two regions estimated at about 85 percent (as computed for one policy program). Thus, the income differential may be slightly greater than the estimated cost of living differential. (1975:48)

The last study included in the review is Philip Fulton's "Setting of Social Contact and Status Advancement Through Marriage: A Study of Rural Women" (1975), in which he looked at status advancement of rural women through marriage. The only rural-urban difference found was the fact that a woman's "positive personal characteristics" were more significant in a rural setting than an urban one. These attributes were defined as intelligence, academic performance, concern for mobility, and aspirations (1975:46). The study concerned women finding "promising husbands." A woman's status was measured by looking first at her father's, then her husband's income(2). In this study, women were again viewed as they relate to men.

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(2) A critique of stratification by this means is found in Joan Acker, "Women and Social Stratification: A Case of Intellectual Sexism," in Joan Huber (ed.), _Changing Women in a Changing Society_, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1973.

The studies in the seventies show a branching out and expansion of research since 1927, when Ina Crawford looked at "The Use of Time by Farm Women." Now there is an examination of women in rural areas and employment, education, fertility, position in the family, status, decision making, association membership, aspirations, attitudes, earnings and involvement in management. For the first time, women are researched in regard to their position as individuals within a family and individuals who participate in the labor force (both in and outside of the home). There continues to be research conducted by comparison with urban areas as well.

What do We Know?

From these studies it is evident that women's role in rural areas has warranted studies specifically about women. It can also be concluded that comparisons can be made regarding women and their situation in rural areas as opposed to women and their situation in urban areas. What we know specifically about women in rural areas as a result of these studies is not clear cut, because more questions arise from the research than concrete answers. These studies serve almost to substantiate women's influence and partnership, whereas in research concerning men and "people," their position as contributors is taken for granted. Since research has now shown that women are there, and contributing, it is now beginning to expand on the problems and issues facing women as individuals who inhabit and experience a different world than men.

Many of the studies in this review were conducted from an identifiable perspective that may or may not show women in a realistic light. We do know that the research on women in rural areas is changing focus, and that this amplified perspective and different approach may open up expanded and new lines of research.

In the following discussion, dominant themes and issues which come out of the research are examined in the light of research foci and methods. Many of the questions which come out of the research are cited in regard to issues and problems identified through research, and constitute a list of researchable questions which is included as a suggestion for future studies.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH: ACHIEVING A BALANCE

Introduction

As Grace E. Frysinger, chief home economist for the United States Department of Agriculture, stated in 1925(1), "Rural Women have been analyzed, patronized, and cartoonized, but they have never been eulogized, idealized, and immortalized." Fifty years later it can be said that women in rural areas have been analyzed, patronized, cartoonized, eulogized, and idealized if not immortalized. Now it is time to stop patronizing as well as idealizing her. It is time to look at woman as she really is, in all her diversity, complexness and humaness.

The Search for Identity and Recognition

In the introduction to this review of the research literature of women in rural areas, the two lists of demands by women point to undeniable facts of life for women as individuals. Women do not have recognition of the value of their work. Women do not feel that they are real contributors to society. Similarly, in the preceeding review of the research literature, women are primarily regarded in subsidiary roles, their identity forged through men, and their position explained as they relate to men, which is throughout described in male terms. Although women are always "there"(2), their contributions just as important and vital to society as that of men, they have gone unnoticed and undervalued to varying degrees depending on the times. Adrienne Rich comments:

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(1) See Frysinger (1925, 1930 and 1934).

> Outside of women's studies, though liberal male professors may introduce material about women into their courses, we live with textbooks, research studies, scholary sources, and lectures that treat women as a subspecies, mentioned only as peripheral to the history of men. In every discipline where we are considered, women are perceived as the objects rather than the originators of inquiry, thus primarily through male eyes, thus as a special category. (3)

Compound this criticism with the use of male informants in studies, and the result is a view of women sifted through yet another masculine layer. This problem of visibility is referred to in Prevelou's "The Invisible Woman"(4) and in Ardener's Perceiving Women(5).

Examining the studies included in the review of the research literature on rural women, a pattern appears which shows women and women's activities as factors in the research on the same par with other factors which constitute the list of variables. Whether stated or not, some research paradigms imply the use of the dependent variable, success of men, and the independent variable, women's cooperation. The Wilcox (1932) study exemplifies this point. The study specifically focused on men. The importance of the "factor" of the "wife's involvement" came as somewhat remarkable to the researchers. In this and other studies, the term wife, a role, is used to name woman, an individual. In a selective review of urban sociology, Lyn H. Lofland(6) found that women "are part of the locale or neighborhood or are described like other important aspects of the setting such as income, ecology or demography--but largely irrelevant to the analytic action. They may reflect a group's social organization and culture but they seem never to be in the process of creating it" (p.145).

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(2) Lyn H. Lofland, "The 'Thereness' of Women: A Selective Review of Urban Sociology" in Another Voice, Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science, Marcia Millman and Rosabeth Moss Kanter (eds.), Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, 1975, p. 144.

(3) Adrienne Rich, "Toward a Woman-Centered University," The Chronicle of Higher Education, July 21, 1975.

(4) See Presvelou (1975) in Appendix C.

(5) Ardener, Shirley (ed.), Perceiving Women, New York: Halstead Press, 1976.

Rural sociology's treatment of women indicates a similar pattern. Women are examined as to how they contribute to the farm's success; what kind of involvement (if any) women have in the management and adoption of technological advances in farming; their role in decision making; how rural women adjust, feel or achieve status in marriage; how they spend their time in and outside the home (but always in relation to it); the conflict they have between family and employment commitments; and the effect that their rural location has on fertility, education and employment levels. Women are continually viewed as to how they secondarily affect a world where the "serious" business is the domain of men. When research does examine women's individual situation, it is in relation to the "outside" world, for example, the conflicts women experience when they have paid employment.

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(6) Lofland, op. cit.

No mention is made of women who live and work on their own, women's life as it does not relate to children and husband, or women's activities as creators of society. Although children might occupy a fraction of a woman's lifetime, and she may or may not be married, the familial functions of women are examined either as an integral or peripheral part of the research which concerns women. Similarly, there is the assumption that all women live in a nuclear family, with children and a male "head." Except for the three studies on low-income women (Hagood, 1939; Terry, 1966 and 1974; and Feldman, 1973) the class and race aspects and women are also neglected.

Clio Presvelou, in "The Invisible Woman"(7) explains a method of looking at women and research which includes the factor of women not being considered as creators of culture:

> The concept of social visibility draws attention to and assesses the degree of women's effective

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(7) Presvelou, op. cit.

> participation in productive agricultural tasks and helps to determine the social recognition arising from such participation. In other words, the mere fact that women work in the fields, thus producing goods for family consumption, is not a sufficient indicator of their effective social visibility. Social recognition by society is also required. The usefulness of this concept lies in the fact that it enables one to evaluate the effective involvement of women in production tasks both from the viewpoints of efficiency of their efforts and of their self-actualization. (p.50)

This question of self-actualization is extremely important. It brings us back to the list of demands by women. Remember, the women desired recognition, utilization of their abilities, and greater respect for their contributions. Why do women feel this way? Because women are invisible, muted, appendages, members of auxillaries, occupy positions of lesser status, and perform service functions for men. Their request for the right to self-actualization is crucial.

Few women can achieve self-actualization in a society where the male serves as the focal point around which all others revolve. Joan Huber, in the introduction to Changing Women in a Changing Society(8), states "We live in an achievement society, even though a substantial majority of all Americans suffers restricted opportunity because of an ascribed status" (p. 12).

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(8) Joan Huber (ed.), Changing Women in a Changing Society , Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.

Since woman has a clearly defined position, status and sphere of actualization which are attached to her at birth, it is extremely difficult for her to participate in a society structured for and around men(9).

Another related aspect to woman's search for identity and recognition is her economic dependence on the male society. There is much debate as to whether women's economic independence will bring about social and political equality as well. This relates to the value placed on the work that women do, which in turn relates to their recognition and status.

As Mayra Buvinic(10) points out:

> Women's attainment of equal status with men depends not only on their equal _participation_ in production, but also on the degree of _control_ they possess over activities in which they take part . . . (but this does not) seem to answer the broader question of whether women's control over economic resources is _perceived by the members of the society_ as granting women a relatively high _status_. (p. 13)

Buvinic feels it is important to investigate what indicators of women's status are perceived as meaningful by the members of society under study.

These considerations: women's participation in production, society and culture; the control she possesses over the activities which affect her; the value society places on her participation; and the subsequent recognition she receives, are all interrelated. They are important to the discussion of the research and the manner in which it is conducted. These consideratons also link Tinker's(11) ideas of the errors of omission and reinforcement discussed in the introduction. Omission, in that women's traditional roles are not noticed or utilized and reinforcement, by restricting women's activities to those of household, child bearing and childrearing functions.

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(9) This is a similar situation for minorities, who are likewise ascribed a status based on race.

(10) See Buvinic (1976), in Appendix E.

In the following section, the research paradigms and methods are examined further.

Liberating Research

Jessie Bernard has outlined feminist critiques of sociological theory and methodology(12). She asks the question: "Can sociology transcend sex? With respect to both contents and method?" (p. 19). This is the same question that needs to be asked of rural sociology as evidenced by the research conducted to date. Bernard's view of sociology is that it is a science of male society and also a male science of society (p.19). In other words, sociology is a study of male society in terms of the perspective used, the questions asked, and the values reflected. It is a male science in terms of the methodology and technical predilections utilized.

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(11) See Tinker and Bramsen (1975), in Appendix C.

(12) Jessie Bernard, "My Four Revolutions: An Autobiographical History of the ASA," in Huber, op. cit. (Includes a critique of Parsonian functionalism, interactionism, and exchange theory).

Essentially, there are two major problems which Bernard cites: factual and paradigmatic. In the review of the research, the factual problems are revealed by examining the types of substantive questions which are raised in the research. Some of these questions are: How do farm wives use their time? Why do married women need W.P.A. programs? How do wives contribute to the success of farms? How happily married are rural as compared to urban women? How do wives affect decision making? How do mothers coordinate work in and outside the home? How do you predict the farm wife's involvement in general management and adoption decisions?

By looking at these questions, we can get an idea of the focus of the research, the perspective of the reserarcher, and his or her attitudes concerning the research. It is also informative to consider the fact that these kinds of questions are the only ones asked regarding women in fifty years of research. One might ask if these were the only research concerns regarding men, would they be adequate or fair?

In addition to looking at the questions that were researched, it is important to examine questions not asked. These questions are dealt with in a detailed section on research questions which follows this discussion.

The second problem, paradigmatic, involves a look at research methods. Bernard points cut the constant battle between the scientific approach compared to the humanistic approach, or by any other name, the statistical versus case, quantitative versus qualitative, agency versus communion and so on, which has caused much controversy among researchers in the social sciences. Presently, "hard" data, and the "scientific" approach holds sway. The problem here is not which method is better or more effective--but what effect the one method which is now most utilized has on the study of women. In choosing a method which sees variables, i.e. sex as a variable, or woman as a variable, the individual woman, as we have seen in this review, is put into a set in which she does not belong. She is placed side by side and equated with dissimilar factors. In the Wilcox study, admittedly the most overt example, "cooperation of wife" was included in a list of fourteen other variables which could contribute to the success of the farmer (all males). Here we have a classic example of two people running a farm where the male is related to the activity, and the female is related to variables that make or break him. Why is this the case?

For an answer, we must look at the broader level. The whole scope of human activity contains innumerable activities which every individual experiences. In our society, some activities more than others are equated with females, others with males. This has led to the recognition of two spheres, or worlds--the one in which females typically inhabit and the one in which males typically inhabit. Bernard forms these two spheres into a typology based on Parsonian variables(13):

	STATUS WORLD (FEMALE)	CASH-NEXUS WORLD (MALE)
bonds:	love/duty	monetary exchange
characterized by:	ascription	achievement
	diffuseness	specificity
	particularism	universalism
	collectivity orientation	self-orientation
	affectivity	emotional neutrality
preferred way to to allocate:	everyone's needs met to the extent possible	competition (best man wins)

These spheres are also commonly referred to in the literature as the expressive-supportive side of life (informal network) as compared to the instrumental side of life (formal network). Like all typologies, they are polar types and are illustrative, not meant to be taken literally as descriptors of a whole class of people or, in this case, the two sexes. But just as sex role stereotyping has interfered with research, so has the omission of the world to which women are ascribed.

Within the schema then, we have two worlds: the sphere with which women are associated and the sphere with which men are associated. Further, women's sphere is circumscribed by her child bearing and childrearing functions and her duties as "wife." Men's sphere includes everything else in the political, social and economic world. Women (and female children) and their world are subsidiary, and therefore not as valued as the world for men (and male children). Within each sphere, women and men have sex role attitudes, expectations and enactments. Sex role expectations are crucial here, for what individuals actually do in reality can be in variance with the prescription. The study of society can be colored by too rigid attitudes about what women and men should do, and are expected to do, and also by what value is placed on activities performed by women and men.

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(13) Ibid., p. 20

The world which women inhabit is not examined in the research, or given importance. The choice of technique most researchers use stresses the "male" side over the "female" side. The "female" sphere is more difficult to research for reasons which will be given shortly, but stress of the "male" side is also a result of the use of the "male" science of sociology that Bernard describes.

Examples of the results of this emphasis on the "male" side of life abound. The classic example is the one cited in the recent study "A Re-Examination of the Cross-Cultural Principles of Task Segregation and Sex Role Differentiation in the Family"(14). Joel Aronoff and William Crano state:

> In their analysis of the family as a social system, Parsons and Bales(15) applied this categorization directly. "Considered as a social system, the marriage relationship is clearly a differentiated system . . . (the) more instrumental role in the subsystem is taken by the husband, the more expressive by the wife . . . (the) husband has the primary adaptive responsibilities, relative to the outside situation . . . whereas the wife is primarily the giver of love . . . ." (p. 13)

The results of the Aronoff and Crano study show that the instrumental role is distributed continuously, and not in a dichotomous fashion. The feature that characterizes the family is that of role sharing, not segregation. In other words, in reality women and men must act in an instrumental or expressive fashion depending on the situation. Problems arise when stereotyped views of how women and men should act (sex role expectations) color researchers' examination of their data.

The research included in the review, especially that which was conducted in the 1950's and 1960's, offers further examples. Blood's study (1958) characterized women who "helped" their husbands as Amazons. How else to explain their involvement in farm chores? Straus (1958) equated success of farms with women's nonparticipation and supportive stance. While Wilkening criticized and refuted the stereotypical views of task segregation on farms and in decision making (1958,1963,1967,1968, and 1969), as discussed

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(14) See Aronoff and Crano (1975), in Appendix C.

(15) T. Parsons and R. Bales Family, Socialization and Interaction Process, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955.

previously in the review, in his 1969 study with Guerrero the concluding discussion again categorized individuals on the basis of sex(16).

Considering these examples, it is not surprising to find that in these studies the instrumental half of the dyad, or women's relation to the instrumental half, is examined. This is partly due to the ease of studying the instrumental side of life rather than going through the problem of identifying and collecting data on the less visible and uncharted expressive-supportive activities of all humans. This lack of emphasis on the informal is also due to the male bias in research, which automatically equates instrumentality with men. Wilkening explains in the outset of his 1967 study:

> This paper is concerned only with conjugal role differentiation in the instrumental-task and decision-making areas. These include child care and discipline and care of the household as well as tasks and decisions in the farm area. It is not concerned with those activities which are primarily of an expressive nature, such as providing affection, emotional support and integration of family members. (p.703)

While he correctly includes household tasks and aspects of the supposedly "female" sphere in with instrumentality, he does admit to not being able to include the expressive side of life in the scope of his study. Likewise, Aronoff and Crano(17) express the same type of limitation of their study due to lack of data:

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(16) It is interesting to note that during the 50's and early 60's (when women were seen most stereotypically in the research) researchers were exclusively males. Historically, women initiated research on women in rural areas, and women have been active in research in this area for the last ten years. Sex of the researcher, however, does not exclude her or him from performing reearch which contains sexist bias.

> A complete examination of the general theoretical propositions, of course, should require a cross-cultural analysis of expressive as well as the instrumental role. While the data available in Murdock's Etnnographic Atlas, the data source employed in this study, are ideally suited for an examination of the degree of differentiation in the instrumental role, Murdock has not provided material that can be used to examine the distribution of expressive behaviors across family members. Therefore, this report must focus most particularly on the data that are available for the study on the instrumental role. (p. 15)

Research has avoided half the spectrum of human activity, just as it has focused on men, or people, which on closer examination can turn out to be male "people." Since instumentality is equated with the male side of life, this is what is examined. A striking research need is to explore the equally important but devalued part of human life--the expressive, nuturing, supportive side. Without an analysis of this side sociology can not purport to be the study of society, but rather the study of one side of society. By the same token, fertility studies of men, or their roles as fathers and husbands, are also neglected areas of research.

Research should avoid simple categorizations described in the Aronoff study in the following manner:

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(17) Aronoff and Crano, op. cit.

> Categorization by contrast often leads to false clarity, and nowhere has this problem been more apparent than in the study of this variable in the behavior of small groups. Attempts to fit group members into separate, nonoverlapping roles have typically led to generalizations of disappointingly weak findings . . . simple dichotomization (should) be avoided and . . . task variation in groups (should) be viewed as a more continuous variable, conceptualized in terms of the proportion of revelant acts emitted by the various members of the group. (p. 14)

As far as research on women in rural areas is concerned, the emphasis on one sector of human activity over the other, and the omission and undervalued place afforded women, has left much work to be accomplished for rural sociologists and other researchers. When researchers start out with a frame of reference that does not address issues vital to women, or when they do not consider the sex of the individuals as a factor, or fail to take into account attitudes about what should be done by women versus what women actually do, research fails to adequately describe women or meet women's needs. Solutions derived from such research can be inappropriate. Perspectives make a difference.

Males and Females and Male/Female Teams: Three Different Perspectives

Another aspect of this discussion is the different perspectives women have of their contributions, compared to how men perceive their contributions, and how women and men together evaluate what women do. In a 1975 International Harvester survey(18) of 1,000 farm households, responses (broken down according to who answered the questions, male, female or both) were recorded regarding the women's contributions on the farm. On four different questions, women perceived their contribution, involvement and responsibilities outside of their traditional sphere to be greater than what men perceived. Couples sometimes afforded the highest percentages to women.

For example, seventy percent of the men felt the involvement of the "farmwife" in the actual operation and management of the farm had increased from what it was a generation ago, while 86 percent of the women felt it had.

On another question, 38 percent of the women compared to only 15 percent of the men, said the portion of the "farmwife's" total work time on farm work (helping with livestock, operating equipment, working in the fields and other chores) occupied at least half her time or more. On the other hand, 43 percent of the men said women spent less than 10 percent of her time on farm chores while 27 percent of the women said this was true.

Conversely, 70 percent of the men said most of the "farmwife's" responsibilities are concerned with managing the home. Fifty-three percent of the women and 58 percent of the couples said their responsibilities are almost equally divided between home and family and management and/or operation of the farm.

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(18) International Harvester Farm Forum #4, "Sounding Off on the Role of Women in Farming," Editorial Research, Meredith Publishing Services, 1975.

Finally, 76 percent of the farm couples who answered the survey felt it necessary for the "farmwife" to take an active role in the business side of the farm operation to make it a success. Sixty-nine percent of the women said their active role is necessary but only 48 percent of the men thought so.

These responses point out the need to assess involvement of women on farms from an impartial perspective. There should be a method of accurately documenting women's actual involvement. Traditional sex role expectations and actual life experience, how women are at variance with their roles, and how people subsequently perceive women who deviate from their expected behavior, are important research concerns.

Summary

Jessie Bernard aptly states:

> I am not, therefore, asking what sociology can do for women--for example, by filling in the gaps on our knowledge about them, itself a significant contribution--but rather what women (and sympathetic male colleagues) can do for sociology. How they can correct some of its defects by overcoming deficiencies, broadening its perspective, opening up new areas, asking new questions, offering new paradigms: how, in brief they can make sociology a better instrument for understanding, explaining and interpreting the way modern societies operate. (19)

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(19) Bernard, op. cit.

Sociologists are not the only ones who have work to do. These ideas are surfacing in all areas of research. Virginia Cyrus explains:

> The feminist perception of the interconnectedness of all human beings exposes the impossibility of "great" accomplishments occuring in isolation and thus undermines all traditional history. (20)

The negation of the paradigms which are unbalanced, which do not include all of human life and neither show the interdependence inherent in activity, is already revolutionizing sociological inquiry. Researchers can no longer afford incompleteness. This is where the search for identity and recognition of women begins--by not granting individual men greatness and then calling for a hand for the "little woman behind the man." The fact is that women have and always will be beside men, therefore their achievements need no longer go unrecognized, their search for identity unfulfilled. The "changing role of women" may be a misnomer. While it is true that women's roles are changing, it is more the case that society is finally accepting and recognizing the value of the work women have always done. In turn women are recognizing the necessity for control of their activities, and that they have the right to participation and self-actualization in the whole range of human activities.

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(20) Virginia Cyrus, "New Feminist History," Pennsylvania NOW, September 1976, p. 8.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH CONCERNS

The most comprehensive statement that can be made about the research of women in rural areas is that there has been a lack of it. Not only is there a lack of research, but also a lack of current and historical data, indicators and descriptors. This discussion of research issues and questions includes those not addressed in the research, and suggests areas where research might be expanded. Research issues are discussed in categories as follows:

1. General issues which encompass broad areas
2. Specific issues including:
    a) those areas that need substantiation and documentation of women's contribution and active role, and
    b) those areas that deal with the problems and needs of women in rural areas.

It is difficult to isolate those research problems that specifically affect rural-based women. First, concern with women cannot be restricted, as has been done in the past, to certain spheres, i.e. home, children and reproduction.

Second, many rural issues are equally applicable to urban and suburban people.

Third, this list cannot pretend to constitute a definitive list of all research needs applicable to women, which is substantial(1).

Therefore the list of specific issues for research are presented in order of relevance to rural women. While some issues and problems are the same for women regardless of their geographic location, the solutions are likely to be different in rural and urban settings. For example, reproductive health is a primary concern to most women, but meeting the needs of women in rural areas would require distinctive research, policy and programs. Many issues that have been widely discussed regarding women in general have never been examined from a rural perspective. The research needs listed here are for the purpose of suggesting research which integrate women and women's concerns into social science study of rural areas, and by the same token integrate rural issues into the social science study of women. All forms of research, whether theoretical, policy or applied, are implied by these suggestions.

General Issues for Research Considerations

1. Rural-Urban Differences: Rural-urban comparisons have been widely used in research. Are there definable rural-urban differences in regard to women's concerns? Are

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(1) Arlene Kaplan Daniels, "A Survey of Research Concerns on Women's Issues," Project on Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, Washington D.C., May, 1975.

solutions to the problems of urban-based women applicable to rural-based women? Research suggests that there are rural-urban differences which can be compared or juxtaposed. General life options, as well as educational, fertility, religious and employment patterns vary according to geographic location. Such factors as child care services, access to public transportation, population density, health services, accessibility to support groups, migration patterns, environmental factors, and family structure are just a few of the areas which pose different problems and solutions depending on the setting and the sex. Activities undertaken, time spent in activities and economic effects of women in the labor market, in the household and in child care, or as self-employed individuals can be researched with consideration to place of residence.

Isolation has been a continuing problem for women in rural areas. Spatial concerns such as access to services and rural lifestyle with its advantages and disadvantages are factors in addressing the needs of women.

2. Status and Position: Women's "Place": The study of women in the rural United States contributes to the development of theories to explain women's subordinate position in virtually all societies and in all time periods(2). There are many questions to address: What are the origins

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(2) Historically, there is evidence to support the idea of the existence of egalitarian societies and matriarchy which predate recorded history. There are also societies today which have remnants of this phenomena. See:

of this inequity? Why are women's activites less valued than those of men? By what means can women best achieve self-actualization and social visibility? What are the determinates of women's status, role identity and mobility(3)? Traditional gender role expectations and actual behavior result in pressures, conflicts and threats to individuals. How and why are women's actions at variance with their expected behavior? How do males and females in rural areas perceive behavior in regards to gender role expectation? What are attitudes about women in rural areas and how accurate are these beliefs? How do conflicting or divergent perspectives develop? Researchers have used women's relationship to men to compute status and mobility. How valid are these methods? How are established procedures such as the census bureau's policy of automatically assigning a male "head" to every family except those with no adult males, prejudicing the way data are analyzed?

What effect does religion have on the status of women? Religion and the church play a pervasive role in many rural communities. In isolated areas, churches may be the main or only source of social intercourse and social activities. The church sometimes serves as the legitimizer

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Frederick Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1972 (originally published in 1884), and Evelyn Reed, Women's Evolution. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1975.

(3) For a current analysis of the defintion of status and role in regard to women see: Mayra Buvinic (1976:1) in Appendix E.

for social change. Attitudes, values and positions formed by individuals from the teachings of the various churches and adherence to the different interpretations of the Bible (or other religious books) are influential in defining women's status. The influence the varying sects have on shaping attitudes about women could be a topic of research.

3. Children and Family: Historically women and children have been under the dominion of men. Just as women's "place" has been taken for granted, so has children's "place" been a component of patriarchal society(4). Children often occupy valuable and important places in rural areas and take active parts in family farms and seasonal agricultural work, for example. Research might be done on children in rural areas in regards to gender role identification, contribution to society, and similarities between their status and women's status. In particular, research could be done on girls in rural areas in regard to some of the same criteria outlined here for research on women.

Another frequently held assumption is that the family is nuclear in form with a male "head". From this assumption stem generalizations about decision making, division of labor and gender roles. How would analysis of these subjects differ if single persons and alternate family structures were considered? Does the so-called "extended" family influence the position of women in rural areas?

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(4) Hence the sayings:
"Women's Place is in the Home"
"Children Should be Seen and Not Heard"
BUT
"It's A Man's World"

4. Double Jeopardy--Sex, Race, Ethnic Background and Poverty: Studies could be done which focus on non-Anglo females in rural areas to describe the consequences of simultaneously facing two or more forms of discrimination. Poverty and its higher incidence in nonmetropolitan areas and among women, Blacks and other minorities, could be explored. Studies of low income, tenant, subsistence and migrant women would further our understanding of the relationship of wealth, power and status as it affects women.

5. Political and Economic Influence: What control do women have over their lives? What power do women have in the political and economic spheres? What is the result of women's underrepresentation among policy makers, on boards and commissions, in law and government and agencies? How does the activist position (as evidenced in American Agri-Women, for example) in lobbying, picketing, and organizing serve to change women's influence and political awareness?

6. Social Movements and World Perspective: How do movements for social change affect women? What effects do the feminist and civil rights movement have on women and their position in rural areas? How do women fit in the historical and evolutionary process? From a worldwide perspective, what is the relative status of rural-based women in the United States? What comparisons can be made? Do we

have information and indicators with which to measure and compare women's contributions in the United States to women in other countries? For example, how can we measure women's contributions in comparing rural areas in developing countries to the U.S.(5)? What are the effects of political and economic systems and women in rural areas?

Specific Issues for Research Consideration: Documentation

There are many areas that require an analysis of women's actual contributions in society. This analysis would require objective observation and recording of women's activities. Some of these areas are:

1. "Farmwives": Although there has been much research on women who live on farms, it has been done in regard to women as helpers, mothers and wives. Research on married women who live on farms might expand to examine women's roles as partners in farming.

2. Rural-Based Women: Much research has concentrated on women described as "farmwives." Documentation of the role of women in rural areas who are not described as wives or who do not live on farms is needed. Studies of women as farmers, miners, ranchers, breeders, foresters and who are in other rural-based occupations would be useful.

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(5) For a comprehensive list of issues concerning women worldwide see: "The World Plan of Action of the World Conference of the International Women's Year" in the Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year, U.N. Publication Sales, No. E. 76.IV.1, New York: United Nations, 1976, p. 9-43.

Information is also needed on rural nonfarm women who hold traditionally defined "female" occupations, including homemakers. Just as sex stereotyping prejudices research about women, stereotyping women in rural areas as Daisy Maes, hillbillies, uncouth, unschooled or barefoot breeding machines requires that research produce facts to replace myths.

3. Time Studies: Research about rural-based women began in the 1930's with a study of time budgets and homemakers. Researchers in the last half of the 1970's could conduct similar time budget studies of the peak-time activities of women in rural areas. Along with this, research about the actual division of labor, responsibilities and decision-making patterns, about which studies have been done, could be expanded.

4. Skills: Research which documents the expertise and skills of country women is needed to add to the understanding of life in rural areas and women. This line of research would also be helpful to make better rural-urban comparisons, where education is often equated with years of formal schooling.

5. Informal-Formal Structures: Studies are needed on the structural and interactional context of women compared to men, the expressive-supportive side of life and informal structures(6). Examples of this are:

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(6) For a previous discussion of this point, refer to Chapter 3, "Research: Achieving a Balance."

a) Active and passive: Women are often portrayed in the background, or periphery to the action. Research on women as initiators of action and creators of culture is needed.

b) Details: What information do we have on women and translocal activity, for instance, women as shoppers, errand runners, organizers of social activities, volunteers and as involved with transporting children and attending school meetings? In husband-wife team farming, while the male may spend a large part of the day doing one major project (corn-planting for example), the female may be in charge of everything else: meal preparation, milking supervision, livestock tending, child care, fetching supplies, and bookkeeping. How much do we pay attention to the variety and amount of work women perform in this respect?

c) Support Groups: What kind of support do women in rural areas receive? What groups do they bond to, and what role do familial ties play? What support is there for women who do not occupy traditional female spheres, and does this alter their behavior? In urban areas, women who exhibit so-called "deviant" behavior can find others like her. What alternatives are there for women in rural areas? Do girls in rural areas lack models or examples of women who are non-traditional?

Specific Issues: Meeting Needs and Addressing Problems

The following list contains suggestions for research which would look at problems of concern to rural-based women as evidenced by past and current conferences where these concerns were voiced, popular literature and in some of the research material.

1. Economics: Studies are needed to explore the relationship of women to the means of production in rural areas, to see how economic forces affect women. A study such as this could include factors of income, labor force participation, mechanization, unemployment levels and women's participation in farm and ranch operation and management, and marketing (including roadside marketing, farmer's markets and cooperatives). Study of the economic forces which involve women in traditional men's work (salaried) but which do not involve men in traditional women's work (unsalaried or low paying) and effects of this phenomena on role expectation, role enactment and role strain could be done.

2. Reproduction, Fertility and Sexuality: Is motherhood women's only identity and fulfillment? There has been much research on women as mothers. What do we know about the undervalued role of fathers, fertility of men or men's parental responsibilities? Women's vital role as bearers, carers and socializers of the future labor force; child care centers; and parenting require research which encompasses the role of the male, a realistic view of the fe-

male, and rural concerns. Sexual standards and the sexual identity of women is another area that is related to the above. How do attitudes regarding sexuality affect women in rural areas?

3. Life Options: What choices do women and girls in rural areas have regarding life options? Is marriage their primary occupational opportunity? How do these choices change over time? What are the realities compared to the choices?

4. Migration: Research about women who migrate from rural to urban areas, and their experience in cities as well as women who migrate from urban to rural areas and their experience, could be expanded.

5. Crimes Against Women: There is a lot of attention focused on rape and household violence, which includes beatings and sexual abuse of women and girls. Facilities and groups to help women and girls who are victims of rape and household violence and abuse are not as available in rural areas as in urban areas. Data are needed to find out the extent and character of women-specific crimes in rural areas.

6. Media Influences: How do media and music reinforce attitudes about women? To what extent does country music accurately portray women in rural areas? Do T.V., motion pictures, magazines and advertisements adequately reflect rural life and women?

CHAPTER FIVE

COMMENTARY ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN RURAL AMERICA

Recognizing the Problem

Since the beginning of the 1970's, researchers have documented the fact that sexism has been prevalent in social science research and society(1). This review of the literature has shown further evidence of the invisibility and subordinate place of women in rural areas in studies about them. Today the need to draw attention to and recognize sexist attitudes towards women in rural areas is still necessary.

At a session on "The Economics of the Farm Family," for example, during the 1976 American Agricultural Economics Association Meeting, a paper was presented by one of the panel members (all men) called the "Value of the Productive Time of Farm Wives"(2). In it Huffman suggested that "wives" who hold jobs outside the household should "invest in skills that raise the productivity of their time in both activities. For example, when outside work is nonfarm work skills for nursing and elementary school teaching are useful in both the household and the market"(p. 8). According to Huffman, women are only "useful" to others in terms of their activities in the house, care and teaching of young children and care of the sick (as nurses, not doctors).

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(1) Joan Huber, "Review Essay: Sociology" Signs, Spring 1976.

(2) Wallace E. Huffman, "The Value of the Productive Time of Farm Wives: Iowa, North Carolina and Oklahoma," presented in the session on "The Economics of the Farm Family," American Agricultural Economics Association Meetings, Pennsylvania State University, August 16, 1976.

Attitudes such as these only serve to limit the vocational choices open to women. According to the Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs(3), the educational needs of women include training women on the basis of their identity as individuals and contributors in rural areas. Farm women and girls are often excluded from educational services which are related to farm production. Programs geared to women automatically and unjustifiably attach to them vocations which are considered sex-specific.

The Cooperative Extension Service of the land grant colleges and universities for example, almost without exception employ women with backgrounds in home economics to teach women, and primarily men with agricultural backgrounds to work with men. For the majority of women and girls in rural areas, the training and structure of the program are geared to channel them into traditional roles. The Farmers Home Administration's advanced leadership school has an enrollment of 72 men and two women. This "tracking" system is unrealistic considering the labor force participation of women. Most women will spend 20-25 years working outside the home to support themselves and their families. Women with no skills or with training in traditionally female, low paying jobs are not equipped to effectively compete in the labor market and are at a disadvantage regarding income level.

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(3) Kathryn F. Clarenbach, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, in Rural Women's Education, prepared for the Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, Washington, D.C., January, 1976.

The transition towards viewing women as persons first, their sex a secondary factor, and the task of balancing vocations by sex introduce contradictions. An example comes out of the popular literature. Included in Agricultural Education magazine's 1975 edition on women are two articles in particular which illustrate this contradiction.

One, entitled "Some Myths About Women Agricultural Teachers" (Gregg et al., 1975), concluded that women in agricultural education should not limit their talents to teaching ornamental horticulture and related fields, in which women have been traditionally channeled. On the same page in the magazine, the conclusions of another article, called "Should We Encourage Women to Enter Agricultural Education?" (Reynolds and Walker, 1975) appeared. In the opinion of these researchers, women should be encouraged to enroll in agricultural programs to train for entry level skills in ornamental horticulture and in companion animal care. They further state that women should teach agricultural occupations in elementary schools because they relate better to younger students. They conclude that in this way, women entering agricultural occupations "would not present a threat to men"(p. 274).

These examples show an evident conflict between those that consider women entering traditional male spheres as threats, and therefore attempt to keep women in "their proper place," and those that consider it beneficial and timely to recognize women as individuals with the right to free choice.

The Situation Facing Women

Now we are at a point where the situation of women is being affected by a recent and ongoing economic crisis which brings work force and education cutbacks, inflation, higher taxes, and shrinking employment opportunities. Women can expect fewer child care services, health and reproductive care services, jobs, housing and education opportunities. Their overall economic status is not promising.

According to a report by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights(4), from 1960 to 1974, unemployment rates deteriorated for both white and black females. Full-time full-year white female earnings fell from 61 percent to 56 percent of white male earnings from 1939 to 1973, while black female earnings were rising from 51 percent to 69 percent of fully employed black males. Also, the probability of black females holding a job in the top 5 percent of the earnings distribution has improved minutely (zero to 0.06 percent: 1960-1970) while the probability of a white female holding a job in the top 5 percent of the earnings distribution has deteriorated (6 percent to 4 percent). The conclusions of this report show that while white females are still much better off than black and other minority females, all of the relevant variables (except labor force participation rates) are moving in the direction of lowering the earnings of white females relative to males. Considering the fact that black females are worse off economically, all females are participating more in the labor force and getting less for their efforts.

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(4) Lester C. Thurow, "The Economic Status of Minorities and Women," Civil Rights Digest, Winter-Spring 1976.

Although the media and public opinion believe that women have "come a long way," they are not even on a track to economic parity with men.

Rural Women: Double Jeopardy, Double Day

First, all women in the U.S. face discrimination in employment, pay, education and life options to some degree in all phases of their lives. Sexism is institutionalized, and this fact is the cause of why women feel a lack of visibility, need for status and recognition and respect as competent individuals. One reason women feel this way is evident. In a money economy, women as unpaid workers, or underpaid and underutilized workers clustered in support and service jobs such as domestic help, clerical, nursing and elementary school teaching, occupy the lowest rungs on the socioeconomic ladder. The Dictionary of Occupational Titles published every ten years by the U.S. Department of Labor (last edition in 1970) classifies mothering and homemaking skills in the lowest possible skill code, in fact, the occupation of dog trainer is given a higher numerical rating(5).

Women's status is determined through men. She serves in the reserve labor army. If she is a married woman on a farm, the tax laws are written so that she has to prove monetary contribution to the farm in order to avoid paying a crippling inheritance tax, or go through a complicated and expensive procedure to have her participation on the farm count by interpreting the 150 major changes in the Tax Reform Act of 1976, and initiating action to insure her ownership rights(6).

A woman has to face the fact that she is supposed to "keep her place" as a woman, and if a woman is in a minority group as well, she must deal with the fact that she is expected to "keep her place" because of race, ethnic origin and even age and sexual preference.

In rural areas, women have even less options, socially, politically and educationally. Geographically a woman is at a disadvantage. Distances create problems and there is lack of public transportation and even roads. With little or no employment opportunities open to women in rural areas short of farming, marrying someone who is able to support her or limited service and professional work, women are forced to urban areas to find employment. In some areas, women are now entering into jobs that were traditionally closed to her such as mining, factory work (in the higher paid job categories) and forestry. Scarcity of job opportunities for women is one of the reasons that rural areas are the only geographic areas that have a larger male to female ratio. Nationwide, women outnumber men. For all these problems, including isolation, rural areas have many advantages and these examples are cited to point out problems that women experience in rural areas that are different than those problems faced by urban women.

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(5) Equal Rights Monitor, Volume 2 #11, November, December 1976, page 5.

(6) See "To Form A More Perfect Union: Justice for American Women," report of the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1976, p. 13. See also "How Did Farm Wives Fare in Federal Estate Tax Reform?" Farm Wife News, November 1976, p. 24 and Laura Lane, "You Won A Victory--Estate Tax Reform," Farm Journal, November 1976, p. 26-b.

Poverty and problems of the elderly are linked to this issue. Women are more likely to be in poverty than men, and there is a higher incidence of poverty in nonmetropolitan areas(7). Almost half (46 percent) of all families in poverty in 1974 were families headed by women, which account for 13 percent of all families(8). The population of elderly is disproportionately female, due to the longer life expectancy rate of females (up to 7 years on the average). The elderly in rural areas have many difficulties in receiving medical attention and getting to health care facilities, just to name one example.

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(7) Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1974, U.S. Census Bureau Series P-60 No. 120, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, January, 1976.

(8) A Statistical Portrait of Women in the U.S., U.S. Census Bureau Series P-23 No. 58, Washington, D.C.: U.S.

Rural women face double jeopardy. They are first subject to less prestige as women, and secondly as residents of rural areas. As voiced in their concerns in the introduction, women seek to educate the nonrural population on the position of women in rural areas. The media image in 1922 prompted women to declare at a convention: "We resent keenly the present fashion of the magazines and newspapers to belittle country women, in stories representing her as having few home conveniences and apparently fewer brains"(9). In 1976, rural students feel "put down" in schools, women lack self esteem(10), and the media continues to perpetuate the image of women in rural areas as that of Daisy Mae, the Waltons and Beverly Hillbillies.

Of all the "isms" that plague society, there can be added "urbanism" [also called "Metropoliana" by the Rural America, Inc.(11)], which Clarenbach(12) defines in this

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Government Printing Office, April, 1976.

(9) This conference, held January 23, 1922, is referred to in Atkeson (1926:294).

(10) Consultation Session on Educational Equity for Rural Women and Girls, held in Madison, Wisconsin, June, 1976, for the Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, Washington, D.C.

(11) Rural America Inc., 1346 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C.

way: "In a society which views itself as predominantly urban and prides itself on the 'bigger is better' notion, rural dwellers become one more minority. When rural values and life styles are de-valued by others and often subjected to ridicule, it becomes increasingly difficult for people to retain pride in their values and in themselves" (p. 40).

Besides facing double jeopardy in their status as women, and then as residents of rural areas, women also face the burden of the "Double Day"(13). It is documented that women in rural areas spend more time working inside and outside the home (Blood, 1958) than their urban counterparts. Women are generally ultimately responsible for home and children whether they have outside farm chores or outside paid employment that they must do as well. While women have entered traditionally male spheres, men are not applying for jobs defined as "women's work." Obviously, the reason is that "men's" work is work with higher pay, status, fringe benefits and personal satisfaction. (Not that it has to be that way). Many women face the "double day" as well as the pressure that she function as her sex role script dictates; forever pleasing, attractive, supportive and nonassertive.

Gaining Visibility

Women are not adequately represented in policy

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(12) Clarenbach, op. cit.

(13) From the title of a film, "The Double Day," 1975 United Nations' film for International Women's Year which concerns women in South America.

making, boards, agencies and program policy which affect their lives. In a speech by Carol Forbes, director of the Congressional Clearinghouse on Women's Rights and the legal counsel for the House Subcommittee on Family Farms and Rural Development, she pointed out the systematic exclusion of women in government and influential positions(14). Forbes listed numerous examples, one of which cited the United States Department of Agriculture's 162 Boards and Commissions. Of 2,283 positions on these committees in 1976, only 77 were filled by women. As Forbes explained, women's right to know (which includes her full access to education and political decision making), affects her right to contribute to decisions which affect her life, which in turn influence her participation and therefore expands her right to know.

Women in rural areas are recognizing their power as women, and exercising their right to know, contribute and participate. Early women leaders who were involved in women's rights to participate (such as Mother Jones, Caroline Hall, Mary Lease, Florence Reece, Aunt Molly Jackson, Sojourner Truth, Frances Perkins, Grace Frysinger, and Mary Mayo to name a few) are regarded as heroines and models. The motto of the American Agri-Women is "We can do it . . . together."

Although many of these women claim they are not feminists as such, they are using their power as women to become political activists, lobbyists, public speakers, public relations and promotion experts in the areas of fair crop prices, farm legislation, estate tax laws, and agricultural issues. As Marjory Hart puts it, "Farm wives . . . can speak intelligently about markets, national and international, fertilizers, pesticides profit and loss, investments and returns"(15).

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(14) Carol Forbes, speech before the American Agri-Woman Convention, Kansas City, November, 1976.

It is interesting that Hart must emphasize this point, as if intelligent women were rare. Hart must point this out, however, because until recently women were not listened to.

Few listened to women until the women's movement reappeared on the scene a decade ago and paved the way for women to be heard. At the same time, worldwide events, which include the economic and political realities of the world food demands and population projections, put women at the focal point. Excellent work has been done concerning women in development and women's role in agriculture and population on an international level (See Appendix C). Consider also the "Percy Amendment," section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973, which requires that the U.S. bilateral development assistance programs authorized in "Sections 103 to 107 of the Act, be administered so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects, and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort." In this country, women's vital role in reproduction and food production, and her participation in rural life has not been considered a problem requiring such a legislative mandate. The Congress has recognized the problem abroad, but has not investigated women's status in rural areas here at home.

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(15) Marjory Hart, "The Changing Role of the Farm Women" in the Voice of the American Agri-Women, October 1976.

Time for a Change

On a November 1976 morning T.V. farm show in Georgia, a young farming couple is interviewed. It is clear from the introduction that both work hard on the farm as they struggle to get started on their own. Throughout the half hour, the men do the talking. The woman sits patiently, and the moderator addresses her briefly, but does not let her answer. Instead, he answers for her or turns back to her husband for the response.

In a small community in rural Pennsylvania, women talk of their years in farming, and discuss women's liberation. It is evident from the conversation that they have a deep commitment to religion which to them calls for submissiveness and service to their husbands. They are afraid they will "lose their husbands" if they make any overt move toward equity in their lives.

Country music stations play music that tells women to "stand by your man" and to abide by the double standard(16).

Media and religion play an important role in the shaping of consciousness of women and men. Deep seated attitudes about women are evident in the popular literature. An example comes from the November, 1976 issue of "Farm Wife News." In a story about a woman who takes over sole management of a 1,000 acre farm after her husband dies, ancient beliefs about women are expressed by two officials in her area. These beliefs include the idea that women will break down if afforded responsibilities and become hysterical and out of control if left on their own. Historically, one factor in men's dominion over women has been precisely to protect woman and keep her under control because she is supposedly an emotional, flighty, weak and sometimes poisonous individual(17).

These attitudes emerge in the article "Female Farmer Keeps Farm in the Family":

> One man advised her to give up. "I thought she was attempting to do too much," Lewis says, "But she has done a terrific job in taking over Bill's place."
>
> J.B. Morgan says he feared Mary would have a nervous breakdown because she had so much on her mind. But she didn't. "She has self control and poise," he says with admiration. (p.46)

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(16) Cornelia Flora and Sue Johnson, "Discarding the Distaff: New Roles for Rural Women," in Rural Sociology in the U.S., Thomas Ford (ed.), Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press (in press).

(17) Rosemary Ruether, New Woman, New Earth: Sexist Ideologies and Woman's Liberation. New York: Seabury Press, 1975.

At first glance, these comments appear to be compliments. In actuality, they are patronizing and gratuitous. If women commented on a man in such a way, it would not be acceptable.

The first step in any liberation movement is the recognition that a group must regain pride, self esteem, identity, self confidence, and utilization of their abilities. This process involves the throwing off of myths that hold the group back and "keep them in their place." Women in rural areas are starting to manifest this development. They are educating themselves and the public to the fact that they have valuable skills which are now sought out by the dominant urban culture. Skills particularly associated with women in rural areas include midwifery, herbal medicine, canning, pottery making, tanning, weaving, gardening, animal care, foraging, food processing, butchering and similar activities.

Recent issues of "Farm Wife News" advertise tee shirts, coffee mugs, commerative plates, scarves and jackets with the slogan "I'm Proud to be a Farm Wife" and "I'm Proud to be a Farmer's Daughter." Although these slogans portray women as "wives" and "daughters" (contrast this to the slogan advertised for boys: "I'm Proud to be a Country Boy," there is none for men), it is still significant in the development of pride, concept of self and heritage. The next slogan should be "I'm Proud to be a Country Woman (or Girl)" and hopefully, sooner or later, slogans will be unnecessary.

In the words of one Ohio farmer,

> If I am in fact a "liberated woman," what then is all the beefing about? Perhaps it is directed hit-and-miss at fate--at culture, religion, and society in general--for perpetrating the myth of inequality.
>
> I suspect much of the anguish is directed inward, the scars are within me--so deep that I can never _fully_ accept the truth that woman is not less than mankind.
>
> I weep that I have no daughters to whom I can pass the truth. But, oh, my sons shall know! (18)

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(18) Leimbach (1974).

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1976 "To Form a More Perfect Union: Justice for American Women." Washington,D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

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1976 "The World Plan of Action of the World Conference of the International Women's Year." New York: United Nations Publications, No. E. 76.1v.1.

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1976 "The Economic Status of Minorities and Women." Civil Rights Digest (Winter-Spring).

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1976 "Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1974." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office (January) Series P-60, No. 120.
1976 "A Statistical Portrait of Women in the U.S. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office (April) Series P-23, No. 58.

APPENDIX A

The Annotated Bibliography of Women in Rural America

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WOMEN IN RURAL AMERICA

In the bibliography the publications are listed according to the author's last name. Multiple authors are cross-referenced. Authorless articles are listed alphabetically according to the first word in the title. Titles are in bold face for ease of scanning. A supplementary list of citations follows the annotated section and is organized by year of publication. This listing is chronologically ordered from the present to the cut off point for this bibliography, 1900. The studies cited in the bibliography based on "hard" data are not singled out from the rest of the articles, monographs, and agricultural bulletins, but where data were used, it is indicated in the annotation.

The subsequent appendicies each have a short introduction. For information on the sources of these publications, please refer to the introductory chapter of this publication.

THE LABOR OF WOMEN IN THE PRODUCTION OF COTTON
Allen, Ruth Alice
Arno Press, Chicago. 1933.

A pioneering analysis of the economic role of women in American agriculture, this study focuses on women farm laborers in the Texas cotton industry. Deals with the development of women's political consciousness, the industrialization of Southern agriculture and the problems of farm laborers.

AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE ASSOCIATION
A report of the Rural Home Conference. "Looking Forward with the Rural Home and Community," XIII(2), February, 1935.

Report of a conference attended by 300 rural homemakers from 24 states which focused nationwide attention on the rural home.

AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE CONFERENCE
The Place of the Rural Community in Farm Policy Making. Proceedings of the 28th meeting. 1949.

Mrs. Charles Sewell, Administrative Director, Associated Women, American Farm Bureau Federation is a lone voice for women in a panel discussion on "What Does Agriculture Need?"

ASSOCIATED COUNTRY WOMEN OF THE WORLD
United States Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1937.

Proceedings of the third Triennial Conference held in Washington, D.C. in 1936 and attended by 6,100 country women from 22 nations. Contains speeches and transcripts of discussions on such sectors of rural women's lives as economics, resources, electrification, education, health and social activities. Speeches by Roosevelt, Catt, and other notables of the day.

THE WOMAN ON THE FARM
Atkeson, Mary Meek
The Century Company, New York and London. 1926.

Based on thousands of letters received from farm women, this book reflects the values of farm women in the 20's. House, family, and farm hints by the author are of limited interest. The sections devoted to summarizing what the farm women wrote in these letters, however, offer insights into their lives and condition.

WOMEN IN FARM LIFE AND RURAL ECONOMY
Atkeson, Mary Meek
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 143:188-194, May, 1929.

Discusses the role of the farm women. Author states that farm women tend not to work in the corn and wheat fields, they work with crops requiring hand culture, or with dairy or livestock. More women are working on and managing farms. Farm families are moving to towns and cities to gain conveniences they don't have on the farm.

WOMEN IN THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Baker, Gladys L.
Agricultural History 50(1):190-201, January, 1976.

Historical survey of the role of women in the U.S.D.A., including statistics on percentage of women employed, their positions and salaries.

Bertrand See Terry

THE DIVISION OF LABOR IN CITY AND FARM FAMILIES
Blood, Robert O. Jr.
Journal of Marriage and the Family, 20:170-174, 1958.

A 1954-55 Detroit area study of 731 housewives from the metropolitan area compared with a representative sample of 178 farm wives living in three counties west of Detroit. A sampling of eight household tasks were investigated. Findings confirm the two major hypotheses that (1) farm women do perform a larger share of household tasks than city wives and (2) more of them help their husbands with their work. The author points out that in 1954 the median urban family income was almost double that of farm families. His attitude on women's farm participation is traditionally oriented.

Boss See Wilcox

BLACK WOMEN IN AMERICAN AGRICULTURE
Brown, Minnie Miller
Agricultural History 50(1):202-212, January, 1976.

Traces the role of Black women in American agriculture during the last two centuries, from slavery to the present.

SHEPHERDESS OF ELK RIVER VALLEY
Brown, Margaret Duncan
Golden Bell Press, Denver, Colo. 1967.

Personal account of a woman who goes into sheep farming and homesteading after her husband dies.

ONE WOMAN'S WORK FOR FARM WOMEN: THE STORY OF MARY A. MAYO'S PART IN RURAL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS
Buell, Jennie
Whitcomb and Barrows, Boston, Mass. 1908.

> The biography of "Mother Mayo", a Michigan woman who lived in a rural community. Explains the history of the Grange, and how it brought women together, being the organization where women and men were equal, and Mayo's work in it. Although there was this equality, there were special "Woman's Work" Committees to improve schools, raise money, look after the sick, make the Grange more homelike. Explains Mayo's work in the Women's Section of the Farmer's Institute.

CORRELATES OF MARITAL SATISFACTION FOR RURAL MARRIED COUPLES
Burchinal, Lee G.
Rural Sociology, 26:282-289, 1961.

> This study tested the marital satisfaction of rural and small town husbands and wives. Variables tested were the educational levels of husbands and wives, the occupation of the husband and age differences between husbands and wives. The study was done to determine if factors associated with urban marital satisfaction also extend to rural married couples. Results seemed to indicate that generalizations based on urban couples could not be extended to rural couples.

Charlton See Terry

"ANOTHER WOMEN'S LAND ARMY?"
Colvin, Esther M.
Independent Woman, 21:102-104, April, 1942.

> Tells of plans to form the Women's Land Army to fill the shortage of farm labor during World War II. This article points out that women are already working in a "permanent" land army, women who are farmers, farmers' wives, and the vast number of migrant farm workers. It also reviews the Women's Land Army which operated during World War I. Argues that a logical domestic "army" should mobilize everyone, regardless of age or sex, in a total war effort.

THE LADY AND THE LAND: SOME SCIENTIFIC AND SUCCESSFUL WOMEN FARMERS OF AMERICA
Comstock, S.
Colliers, 45:20-21, September, 1910.

Notes the movement of women to farms and the tendency of the women to be well versed in agriculture and quick to adopt new methods. The article is a series of short interviews with women who run successful farms and have gained the admiration of male farmers.

THE USE OF TIME BY FARM WOMEN
Crawford, Ina Z.
University of Idaho Agricultural Experiment Station
Bulletin 146, January, 1927.

Sample of 81 Idaho farm and town women's use of time is compared in ten major categories. Farm women spent more time on outside work, got less sleep and had fewer modern conveniences than town women. Author includes comments on homemaking as a profession versus other careers for women.

THE AMERICAN COUNTRY GIRL
Crow, Martha Foote
Frederick A Stokes Company, New York. 1915.

An extensive look at the situation of girls in the rural U.S. at the turn of the century. Many topics are covered, including division of labor, enviornment, education, organizations, code of ethics and health.

VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE PROGRAMS - EMPHASIS ON FEMALE INTERESTS
Curry, Charles
Agricultural Education Magazine, 47(12), June, 1975.

Examines trends in increasing number of females in agriculture classes and questions four major assumptions made in regard to female students: (1) men and women have same learning abilities, (2) same desire to work after graduation, (3) male teachers can adjust to teach female students, and (4) primary purpose of vocational agriculture is for preparation for job entry on the secondary level. Concludes that sex biases must be examined and program should relate to both sexes equally.

Dornbusch See Heer

A STUDY OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS AMONG MIDDLECLASS WOMEN
Eitzen, D. Stanley
Rural Sociology, 35:84-91, March, 1970.

A rural-urban comparison study in Kansas showed that while sex and social class make no difference when certain variables are considered, community size makes a considerable difference in organizational involvement. Residents of small rural towns have fewer of these memberships than residents of more urban towns and cities.

THE WOMAN'S SPHERE
Elsinger, Vera
Rural America, p. 5, November, 1931.

Taken from an address before the American Farm Bureau Federation; discusses the activity of women on the farm, as consumers and budgeters, partners to men, organizers of the home and of farm organizations.

FARM WIFE TELLS HOW I HELP MY HUSBAND
Farmer's Digest, 69-74, March, 1971.

A round table discussion of four dairy farm wives.

DO YOU WANT YOUR DAUGHTER TO MARRY A FARMER? WHAT FARM WOMEN THINK ABOUT FARM LIFE
Farmer's Wife
Webb Publishing Company, St. Paul, Minn. 1922.

The Farmer's Wife asked its 750,000 readers nationwide the question which is the title of this pamphlet. 7,000 responses in which 94% answered yes. Some reasons for the affirmative answer: (1) women earn independent income on the farm, (2) farmer and wife automatically home and business partners, (3) farm life gives women an opportunity for constructive occupation, (4) farmer and wife "boss" their own business, (5) if husband dies, women can go on with the business and keep the family at home, (6) farm woman is not a drudge. Negative responses said: (1) nothing to lighten the labor and monotony, (2) age too fast, (3) farm wife not the social equal to city sister, (4) farm drudge instead of wife and mother, (5) farm woman lacks educational influences which broaden scope of vision. Includes 68 sample letters and the three which won prizes.

"THE FARM WOMAN ANSWERS THE QUESTION-WHAT DO FARM WOMEN WANT?"
Farmer's Wife
Webb Publishing Company, St. Paul, Minn., 1926.

This pamphlet is a summary of a three day conference called by the American Country Life Association and the Farmer's Wife Magazine. Twenty farm women in leadership positions conferred in Chicago. Discussion centered around such topics as the status of farm women, citizenship, economics, home organization, equal partnership, and community development.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FAMILY AND OCCUPATIONAL FUNCTIONING OF A SAMPLE OF RURBAN WELFARE WOMEN
Feldman, Harold and Margaret Feldman
The Cornell Journal of Social Relations, 9(1):35-52, Spring, 1974.

> The relationship between two social institutions is explored; the family and the occupational as they relate to each other in the case of low income women. For these women, having a problem at home had a direct impact on their working, and their employment had repercussions at home. The data is from a study of 1,325 women living in small towns and surrounding areas. The difficult position women find themselves in concerns both the internal and external demand that they have a primary commitment to home and family and yet must work in order not to be considered a parasite on society.

Frank See Osterberg

THE FARM WOMEN TODAY
Frysinger, Grace E.
Rural America, 8-10, March, 1934.

> Discontent on the farm and the desire to migrate to the cities are explained as women's problems.

MARKETING PROBLEMS OF RURAL WOMEN. WHAT THE COUNTRY WOMEN OF THE WORLD ARE DOING
Frysinger, Grace E.
Liaison Committee of Rural Women's Organizations, London, 1930, p. 125.

> Chief home economist of the USDA surveys cooperative marketing in the U.S., marketing activities and problems of rural women, the cooperative marketing associations and what these marketing opportunities mean for farm women.

THE COUNTRY GENTLEWOMAN: RURAL WOMEN TAKE THE LEAD
Frysinger, Grace E.
The Country Gentleman, May 16, 1925.

Frysinger, Extension Home Economist, USDA, declares a great new movement of rural women who have been "analyzed, patronized, and cartoonized, but they have never been eulogized, idealized, and immortalized." Talks of new awareness of transportation and communication which gets the rural woman out of her isolation, and an educational movement where 1,290 trained home economists worked with 500,000 rural women in a program for better rural life and leadership training.

SETTING OF SOCIAL CONTRACT AND STATUS ADVANCEMENT THROUGH MARRIAGE: A RESTUDY OF RURAL WOMEN
Fulton, P.N.
Rural Sociology, 40:45-54, Spring, 1975.

This study investigates the incidence of marriage mobility among 134 young women from a rural area in Michigan. The dependent variable, social mobility through marriage, was measured by comparing the Duncan Socioeconomic Index score for each woman's father's occupation at the time of her high school graduation and her husband's score at the end of the post high school decade. Findings showed that women who met their husbands after moving to an urban setting were generally found to be more intelligent, to have waited longer to marry, and to be more likely to have received positive parental encouragement for status improvement than was the case for women who remained in rural areas. Only intelligence was found to be strongly associated with marriage mobility. A woman's "positive personal characteristics" were more important for marriage mobility in a rural social context than in an urban setting.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE FERTILITY OF RURAL-FARM AND URBAN WOMEN
Gardner, Bruce
Southern Economic Journal, 518-524, April, 1972.

This study explained a substantial fraction of variation in fertility, for both the rural-farm and urban populations. An increase in the opportunity cost of time was associated with decreasing family size, while increase in income yielded larger families. In comparing rural-farm and urban fertility behavior, both appeared to respond to differences in income, wages and schooling in basically the same way.

WE SAGEBRUSH FOLKS
Greenwood, Annie Pike
Appleton-Century, New York. 1934.

Personal account of life on a farm in Idaho with inciteful chapters on education, birth, death, recreation, outdoors, sex, war, politics, faith and economics. Told by a woman who disdained farm women, then became one.

SOME MYTHS ABOUT WOMEN AGRICULTURE TEACHERS
Gregg, Ted, Dennis Hampton, and E.M. Juergenson
Agricultural Education Magazine, 47(12):273, 1975.

Survey sent to supervisors of 20 women agriculture teachers in California showed that the ten common myths associated with female teachers were not substantiated. Some of these myths include: women should limit their teaching to ornamental horticulture, women cannot handle large animals, will not do dirty jobs, will not be accepted.

Gustafson See Hafstrom

EARLY BACKGROUND AND LATER LIFE STYLE: WOMEN WITH FARM, RURAL AND URBAN BACKGROUNDS ARE COMPARED
Hafstrom, J. L., M. M. Dunsing, and A. W. Gustafson
Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station, Ill. Research, 16(4):18-19, 1974.

This article explores a woman's early environment: farm, nonfarm, or rural and how it affects her later aspirations, satisfactions and attitudes. Some differences that were found included: Education: urban-reared women had completed more schooling; decision-making: when one spouse was primarily responsible for decision making, the urban and rural women were more likely to make them, but the opposite was true for farm wives; attitudes: some strong attitudinal differences were found among selected questions, farm wives tended to be more traditionally oriented.

MOTHERS OF THE SOUTH: PORTRITURE OF THE WHITE TENANT FARM WOMAN
Hagood, Margaret Jarman
University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill. 1939.

Presentation of case material and a short summary of certain quantitative results of a study of 129 women from white tenant farm families in a group of 12 counties in the Piedmont section of North Carolina. Study to determine what effect the high level of fertility and low socio-economic level had on the lives of women with children. Findings: They suffer the direct consequence of a long continued cash crop economy, undergo extreme social impoverishment from the lack and unequal distribution of institutional services, and bear the brunt of regional tradition which subjects them to class and sex discrimination. The sample was compared with an equal number from Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. Includes sections on the types of farms in the study, life of the tenant women and interpretation of the findings. Shows how these women have triple roles of mother, housekeeper, and field laborer.

THEY'RE GETTING IN THE CROPS
Hall, Florence
Independent Woman, 22:194-196, July 1943.

The director of the Women's Land Army explains the qualifications for and the function of the Women's Land Army. All types of women were recruited to perform agricultural work during war time.

THE NATION'S CROPS NEED YOU
Hall, Florence
Independent Woman, 24:187, July 1945.

Recruitment article by the director of the Women's Land Army. Calls for three quarters of a million women from all occupational backgrounds to do emergency farm work.

Hampton See Gregg

WOMEN IN THE AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT OF THE NORTHERN PLAINS
Hargreaves, Mary W.M.
Agricultural History 50(1):179-189.

Historical documentary on women and the settlement of the North American Plains, 1870-1940. Information on pioneer farm women, the hardships and loneliness faced and the impact of technological changes.

THE BARTER LADY: A WOMAN FARMER SEES IT THROUGH
Harris, Evelyn
Doubleday, Garden City, New York. 1934.

The diary of a woman widowed with five children and her adjustments to being poor. Deals with the problems and challenges of being a farmer, and the discrimination she comes up against because she is a woman.

RURAL GIRLS IN THE CITY FOR WORK
Hatcher, Orie Latham
A study made for the Southern Woman's Educational Alliance.
Richmond, Garrett and Massie. 1930.

A study of 255 young (median age, 20) rural women from West Virginia, North Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee who migrated to the cities of Durham and Richmond to work. Includes a survey of the life and occupations of the sample in the city, including 12 personal accounts; their backgrounds, reasons for coming to the city, comparison of their status in the country and city, recommendations and guidance, and the statistical tables. Economic reasons were the most cited as to why these women migrated to the city. Most of the sample came from farm families.

Hearnden See Howard

EVALUATION OF WORK BY FEMALES, 1940-1950
Heer, D. M. and S. M. Dornbusch
American Journal of Sociology, 63:27-29, 1957.

Correlations were computed between level of income and female participation in the labor force. White women are changing their evaluation of work and non-white women were beginning to change. The values of non-white women are apparently following the same pattern of change as those of white women but with a time lag of more than a decade.

WHAT COUNTRY WOMEN USE
Howard, Louise and Beryl Hearnden (eds.)
George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 1939.

A survey of resources women in rural areas use worldwide. Includes wool, flax, cotton, hemp, hides and skins, wood and bark, animal, vegetable and mineral products, and scrounge materials. Illustrated with an introduction on the skills of country women.

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF TODAY'S FARM WOMEN?
International Harvester Farm Forum, 2(4), 1975.

A panel discussion of the changing roles of farm women, with a focus on a woman rancher from Wyoming and a couple who share farming fifty-fifty.

Juergenson See Gregg

HILLBILLY WOMEN
Kahn, Kathy
Avon, New York. 1973.

Personal accounts of 19 poor, white women in southern Appalachia, some of them activists (Florence Reece) in coal and mine struggles, mill workers and rural women migrants to the city (Cincinnati).

WHY SO FEW? (Women in Agricultural Occupations)
Knotts, D. and R. Knotts
Agricultural Education Magazine, 47(12):269,276, June, 1975.

Women do not participate in agriculture because of early conditioning, occupational counseling, social attitudes, attitudinal and institutional limitations. Recommendations to educators, administrators and employers to facilitate the transition of women entering the field of agriculture are given.

INCOME RETURNS FOR WORKING WOMEN BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE
Knutson, M. and D. Schreiner
Current Farm Economics, Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station, 39-49, 1975.

This study is concerned with the role of place of residence in determining income returns for working women in the 30-44 year age range. Data used are from the National Longitudinal Surveys by Ohio State University's Center for Human Resource Research on the labor market experience of 5,083 women for 1966. Results implied that women living in an urban area earn more than women in a non-urban non-farm area.

INSPIRATION'S THE SOLUTION
Kren D.
Agricultural Education Magazine 47(12):284, June 1975.

One page article on how to stimulate interest among women to choose vocational agriculture instruction as a career.

WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE IN A TWO-YEAR COLLEGE
Kuznik, Anthony
Agricultural Education Magazine, 47(12), June, 1975.

Sudden emergence of significant number of women in agricultural education. Impact is yet to be felt: on the job at present, females get less than males in terms of salary, raises and promotions.

TWO GENERATIONS OF RURAL AND URBAN WOMEN APPRAISE MARITAL HAPPINESS
Landis, Paul H.
Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin #524, March, 1951.

Study based on 1,000 women, mothers and daughters, married and unmarried, with some connection to the State College of Washington, judged marital happiness on the basis of negative and positive factors. No differences between rural and urban women were found on reasons given for marital happiness and unhappiness except that a higher proportion of rural than urban daughters indicated that they consider sexual adjustment a major problem in marriage. Economic factors were the most mentioned in regards to marital happiness and unhappiness overall.

DOROTHEA LANGE LOOKS AT THE AMERICAN COUNTRY WOMAN
Lange, Dorothea
Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth and Ward Ritchie Press, Los Angeles. 1967.

A photographic essay of women and rural areas in the west and south from the 30's through the 50's. A beautiful grouping of photographs that need no explanation.

CONTRASTS IN URBAN AND RURAL FAMILY LIFE
Leevy, J. Roy
American Sociological Review, 5(6):948-953, December, 1940.

This study of 1,000 rural and 1,000 urban Illinois families from 1934-38 showed that they had similar cultural patterns in spite of the difference in location of home and mode of making a living, but the degree to which it is manifested differs. Urban families had modern water supply, used a budget, used bakery products, more religious materials while rural families had gardens, did their own laundry, canned and were more religious in regards to activities.

WOMEN IN URBAN AGRIBUSINESS
Leibelt, D. C.
Agricultural Education Magazine, 47(12):285, June, 1975.

Personal ideas of a teacher of agriculture. One page and no information.

A THREAD OF BLUE DENIM
Leimbach, Patricia Penton
Prentice-Hall, Inc, New Jersey. 1974.

A compilation of thoughtful contemporary essays by an Ohio farm woman about country living--from working on the land to loving children. The essays intimately portray the changes in rural life, herself and those around her.

Lloyd See Wilcox

THIS WAY OF WIFE: REFLECTIONS OF 800 COUNTRY WOMEN
Longwell, Maude (ed.)
Farm Journal, Inc., Countryside Press, Philadelphia. 1971.

An anthology of letters and verses originally published in Farm Journal as "Letters from Farm Women." Reflections of 800 women over a 25 year period.

SHORT OF HELP? HIRE WOMEN
Lorang, Glenn
Farm Journal, July, 1972.

Discusses the benefits in hiring women in all types of farm jobs, including traditionally male held jobs.

WHO CARES THAT A WOMAN'S WORK IS NEVER DONE?
Mathur, Mary E. Fleming
Indian Historian 4(2):11-15, Summer 1971.

Historical and modern perspectives on women in American Indian cultures. Stresses women's work, its economic importance and its relation to power and status.

RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES IN ASPIRATIONS
Middleton, Russell and Charles M. Grigg
Rural Sociology, 24:347-354, 1959.

The data for this study are drawn from a 20 percent sampling of public high school seniors in Florida in 1954-55. The final sample consisted of 2,183 twelfth grade students. Residence of the students in rural and urban communities as defined by the census was the independent variable. That rural youths have lower occupational and educational aspirations than urban youths receives partial support. Neither study showed any significant differences by residence on the occupational or educational aspirations of white females.

THE GIRL IN THE RURAL FAMILY
Miller, Nora
University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill. 1935.

A case study of homelife in several different family situations (mountain farm, coal mining, cotton farm, etc.) is the basis of this book emphasizing the need for educating the out-of-school female. The author worked in agricultural extension and the last chapter, "Instructing the Girl in the Family" outlines programs to help a female through the transitional stage to a seemingly inevitable family life of her own. Recommendations are that she be schooled in homemaking.

NEED FOR WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE (subtitle under WOMEN IN INDUSTRY)
Monthly Labor Review 58: 1248, June, 1944.

> Explains the activities of the Women's Land Army, a sector of the U.S. Crop Corps, who are called "Farmerettes." Women in the "Land Army" work in the fields, dairy barns, and poultry yards; drive tractors and perform heavy farm tasks; do cotton chopping, corn tassling, hay pitching, wheat harvesting and peanut shaking.

RURAL WOMEN AND THE WORKS PROGRESS PROGRAM: A PARTIAL ANALYSIS OF LEVELS OF LIVING
Morgan, E. L., J. D. Ensminger, and M. W. Sneed
University of Missouri College of Agriculture Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bulletin 253, April, 1937.

> Data on 553 rural women in Works Progress Administration sewing rooms in 12 selected counties in Missouri showed that their education level, skills and position as principal wage earner require them to seek employment and receive this assistance.

NEBRASKA FARM WOMEN: DOING A MAN'S JOB IN A MAN'S WORLD
Nebraska's New Land Review. Walthill, Neb., Center for Rural Affairs. Winter 1975.

> Women who do field work on Nebraska's farms. This short article points out that the women's contribution often makes the difference between the farm's success or failure.

THE MS. FARMERS: AN ADULT CLASS FOR FARM WOMEN
Oldfield, B. and J. Wise
Agricultural Education Magazine, 46(10):226-227, April, 1974.

> A description of an adult vocational program for farm women in Clark County, Kentucky, which was organized along traditional lines of classes on gardening, cooking, first aid, record keeping, etc. Done in outline form, it gives no details.

WHY MORE FARM WOMEN ARE WORKING
Osterberg, Mary Lee and John N. Frank
Farm Wife News, 6(4), April, 1976.

This article hypothesizes reasons why more farm women have outside jobs: changing role of women, electrification, modern conveniences, economic necessity due to rising costs, more educated women, and changing social attitudes.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MOTHER JONES
Parton, Mary Field (ed.)
Charles Kerr and Co., Chicago, 1925.

Mary Harris Jones' life story. A heroine and leader in miners' struggles and the labor movement in the U.S., Mother Jones is a legend. For nearly fifty years she led miners in strikes across the nation, organized women and championed children's rights.

Pond See Wilcox

SHOULD WE ENCOURAGE WOMEN TO ENTER AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION?
Reynolds, Carl L. and Robert W. Walker
Agricultural Education Magazine, 47(12):272-274, June, 1975.

Discusses the need to encourage women to enroll in agricultural occupations programs to train for entry level skills in ornamental horticulture and companion animal care because, the authors maintain, women are less oriented to production agriculture and relate to younger students, thus fitting them to teaching agriculture in the primary schools. Their conclusion is that this proposal "does not present a threat to men" and that it would "enhance" these types of agricultural occupations.

THE JOURNAL OF A COUNTRY WOMAN
Rogers, Emma Winner
Eaton and Mains, New York; Jenning and Graham,
Cincinnati. 1912.

Flowery journal of a well-to-do woman who lives part-time in the country.

PREDICTORS OF THE FARM WIFE'S INVOLVEMENT IN GENERAL MANAGEMENT AND ADOPTION DECISIONS
Sawer, Barbara J.
Rural Sociology, 38:412-26, Winter, 1973.

This study examines the wife's involvement in decisions concerning the general management of farm business and decisions leading to the adoption of agricultural innovations. Things found to be contingent on involvement were the wife's farm-information-seeking activity; her involvement in farm tasks; and size of farm, family, and income.

HISTORY OF THE ASSOCIATED COUNTRY WOMEN OF THE WORLD AND OF ITS MEMBER SOCIETIES
Scarborough, Neve
John Wadsworth Ltd., The Rydal Press, London. 1953.

History of the emergent and unifying forces which became the A.C.W.W. and its history. Includes a list of the constituent societies and their histories, 41 of which are U.S. based.

WOMEN FOR THE SURVIVAL OF AGRICULTURE
Schultz, M., L. Heuser and J. Furber
Michigan State Horticultural Society Annual Report, 101; Annual Meeting-104, 1973.

Reports of the activities of an organization comprised of wives of farmers who are activists in fighting for the rights of farmers and spreading education about farming. This movement has spread nationwide and is presently called American Agri-Women, a national coalition of farm women and farm women's organizations formed in 1974 for the purpose of uniting together to promote agriculture for the "benefit of the American people and the world."

MORE WOMEN THAN MEN
Skrabanek, R. L.
Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Texas Agricultural Progress, 20(3):23-26, 1974.

Population statistics which showed a trend of more men to women except in rural areas of Texas, but overall a decline in the sex ratio. Author predicts the trend will result in marriages of younger men to older women, breaking the traditional pattern.

ADVENTURES OF WOMEN FOR THE SURVIVAL OF AGRICULTURE(WSAM)
Steffens, S.
Annual Report: Horticultural Society of Michigan, 1973: 159-161, 1974:95-98.

Report of WSAM activities.

FAMILY ROLE DIFFERENTIATION AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE IN FARMING
Straus, Murray A.
Rural Sociology, 25:219-228, 1960.

Data for a sample of 903 Wisconsin farm families tested the existence of a "wife role factor" in the understanding of the technological behavior of farm operators. No causal relation was demonstrated as to whether the wife's ability to play an "integrative-supportive" role facilitates her husband as regard to technological competence, or whether it is the husband's increasing technological competence which encourages the wife's emphasis on the "integrative-supportive" role. The study focuses on traditionally defined sex roles and suggests that the "wife role" factor should be included in farm practice adoption research.

THE ROLE OF THE WIFE IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE COLUMBIA BASIN PROJECT

Straus, Murray A.
Journal of Marriage and the Family, 20:59-64, 1958.

High success families tended to be characterized by role specialization, as evidenced by the high-success farmers' wives feeling that major farm and financial decisions should be made primarily by the husband, and by the amount of effort which these women put into home food preservation and their nonparticipation in farm work. Wives of high-success farmers were also found to be a better adjusted, more optimistic and persevering group than were the wives of the low-success settlers.

RELATIONSHIP OF THE FARM HOME TO FARM BUSINESS

Studley, Lucy A.
Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 279, 1931.

The first part deals with the average daily consumption of different commodities the farm produces. The second part gives statistics of all the hours of work on the farm. For the farm wife, 1 and 1/2 hours a day were devoted to cleaning dairy utensils and work with poultry, and these activities made up her main farm duties outside of housework.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF RURAL FARM WIVES

Sweet, James A.
Rural Sociology, 37:553-577, December, 1972.

A study of employment patterns of rural farm wives using a 0.1% sample from the 1960 census. Employment differentials among rural farm wives are compared with those among urban wives. Findings: farm women have fewer employment opportunities, higher fertility, less education, more traditional views on women's role and greater economic need. Also compares rural farm and rural nonfarm women and examines differential patterns of employment.

GRADIENTS OF URBAN INFLUENCE ON THE EDUCATIONAL, EMPLOYMENT, AND FERTILITY PATTERNS OF WOMEN
Tarver, James D.
Rural Sociology, 34:356-367, September, 1969.

Study to determine whether significant rural-urban differences among selected characteristics of women still existed in 1960 over previous periods in history. Data used came from 208 counties containing and surrounding Atlanta, Georgia; Indianapolis, Indiana; and Omaha, Nebraska. Findings: fertility of women increased directly with distance from the nearest metropolitan center, formal education; proportionate number of employed women declined as distance from the metropolitan center increased; the number of children born declined as the population size of the urbanized area of SMSA increased; and the proportionate number of employed females and of those completing 12 or more years of formal education increased directly with the population size of the urbanized area.

URBAN INFLUENCE ON THE FERTILITY AND EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS OF WOMEN LIVING IN HOMOGENEOUS AREAS
Tarver, James D. et al.
Journal of Marriage and the Family, 32(2):237-241, May, 1970.

Research to determine whether rural and urban women living in homogeneous areas exhibited different patterns of behavior in 1960 using same data as in Tarver (1969) but restricted to 81 counties. Findings indicated that both city size and distance from the selected metropolitan centers do affect the proportionate number of employed females, the percentage employed declined consistently with city-size. The fertility of women increases consistently with distance from the metropolitan centers but fluctuates irregularly with increasing size of central city.

THE LABOR FORCE CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN IN LOW INCOME RURAL AREAS OF THE SOUTH
Terry, Geraldine B. and Alvin L. Bertrand
Louisiana State University Agricultural Experiment Station
Bulletin 116, June, 1966.

> Data of 1,781 women from 30 counties in 7 southern states were analyzed to determine the work patterns of women in low income rural areas. These women were found to be less educated, slightly older, and willing to work for relatively low wages when compared to national averages.

CHANGES IN LABOR FORCE CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN IN LOW INCOME RURAL AREAS OF THE SOUTH
Terry, Geraldine B. and J. L. Charlton
U.S. Soil Conservation Service, Southern Cooperative
Service 185, (Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana
Agricultural Experiment Stations), June, 1974.

> Changes between 1960 and 1966 in the labor force characteristics of women in low-income rural areas of Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina and Tennessee were examined. Findings: one of the most important influences on a woman's employment is her position in the family; for those women who worked, educational attainment and race had more bearing on occupational choice than did family position; and the difference between the labor force participation rate of farm wives and other women decreased considerably between 1960 and 1966.

COUNTRY WOMEN: A HANDBOOK FOR THE NEW FARMER
Tetrault, Jeanne and Sherilyn Thomas
Doubleday/Anchor, New York. 1976.

> A comprehensive collection of articles from Country Women magazine which is a resource for back-to-the-land farmers. Information on how to get started, animal and poultry care, soil and planting and much more. Reflects the idea of interdependence of self, land and animals.

FARMER'S WIFE
Thayen, J. V.
Forum, 76:146-149, July, 1926.

Personal account of a well educated farm wife.

Thomas See Tetrault

THE USE OF TIME BY SOUTH DAKOTA FARM HOMEMAKERS
Wasson, Grace E.
South Dakota State College Agricultural Experiment
Station Bulletin 247, March, 1930.

The average time spent on various activities of 100 South Dakota farm homemakers is the subject of this study. Activities include: food preparation; care of house, clothing, family; management, sleep and rest; eating meals; care of self; leisure; farm work; other work and miscellaneous. Findings include: the average working week for the homemakers was 66 hours and ten minutes. About 50% of the time spent in homemaking is used for food provision for the family. The average amount of time spent on farm work was 11 hours, 15 minutes, however, more than 75% more time is devoted to farm work during spring and summer. The rural homemaker averages 8 hours, 36 minutes sleep per night and has 3 hours leisure time per day.

WHAT DO FARM WOMEN WANT?
Literary Digest, p. 50, August 21, 1926.

Report of a meeting of a national committee of representative farm women held at Chicago where the following needs were outlined: better sanitary conditions, more conveniences, contacts, better educational advantages for the children, time, a bank account, recreation, recognize the poetry and charm of country life, pink underwear (make it silk), literature, recognition of the value of their work, to be classed as women not "farm women" and women of ability and understanding.

RELATION OF VARIATIONS IN THE HUMAN FACTOR TO FINANCIAL RETURNS IN FARMING

Wilcox, Walter W., Andrew Boss and George Pond
Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 288, Minneapolis, June, 1932.

Seventy-two dairy farmers ranked social rather than technological factors which contributed to the financial success of their farms. Of fifteen items, the farm operators' top three choices were prior farm experience, cooperation of their wives and ambition to succeed. The variable, "cooperation of wives" was significant. The high-earning group received more help from their wives.

THE HUMAN FACTOR IN THE MANAGEMENT OF INDIANA FARMS

Wilcox, Walter W. and O.G. Lloyd
Purdue University Agricultural Experiment Station, Lafayette, 1932.

Findings were similar to those in study by Wilcox, Boss and Pond.

JOINT DECISION MAKING IN FARM FAMILIES AS A FUNCTION OF STATUS AND ROLE

Wilkening, E. A.
American Sociological Review, 23:187-192, 1958.

Study which hypothesized that joint involvement of husband and wife declines with the degree of commercialization of the farm enterprise or joint decision making of husband and wife is a function of the extent to which farm and family decisions are viewed as having joint consequences for both farm and home. There is a curvilinear relationship between farm income and joint involvement of husband and wife in major decisions. Both the low and the high income groups tend to be characterized by low joint decision making. The involvement of the husband and wife in decisions pertaining to family and farm is a product of the goals and means for attaining those goals, which may change over time, as well as of institutionalized definitions of husband and wife roles.

DIMENSIONS OF ASPIRATION, WORK ROLES AND DECISION MAKING OF FARM HUSBANDS AND WIVES IN WISCONSIN
Wilkening, E. A. and Laskshmi K. Bharadwaj
Journal of Marriage and the Family, 29:703-711, November, 1967.

> Dimensions of aspirations, work roles, and decision making are delineated for 500 Wisconsin farm families (husband and wife). Results indicated that there is a specialization in decision making as well as in the performance of instrumental tasks with joint involvement in certain areas. The values placed upon specific goals reflected the individual spouse's own interest and involvement in them.

ASPIRATIONS AND TASK INVOLVEMENT AS RELATED TO DECISION MAKING AMONG FARM HUSBANDS AND WIVES
Wilkening, E. A. and Laskshmi K. Bharadwaj
Rural Sociology, 33:30-45, March, 1968.

> Measures of the dimensions of aspirations, allocation of tasks and involvement in decisions of husbands and wives are outlined. Findings are similar to Wilkening and Bharadwaj (1967).

CONSENSUS IN ASPIRATIONS FOR FARM IMPROVEMENT AND ADOPTION OF FARM PRACTICES
Wilkening, E. A. and Sylvia Guerrero
Rural Sociology, 34:182-196, June, 1969.

> This study of 500 Wisconsin farm couples tests the combined effect of farm husbands' and wives' aspirations for farm improvement on the adoption of different types of improved farm practices. The results show that consensus in aspiration between husband and wife is associated with higher adoption than when only one spouse has high aspirations. This article presented further evidence that the nature of the farm enterprise is affected by the role of the wife.

A COMPARISON OF HUSBAND AND WIFE RESPONSES CONCERNING WHO MAKES FARM AND HOME DECISIONS

Wilkening, E. A. and D. Morrison
Journal of Marriage and the Family, 25: 349-351, August, 1963.

A pilot study of 61 farm families in Wisconsin (one county) on involvement in decision making. Results indicate that there is greater agreement upon whether or not matters were discussed than upon whether the decision was usually joint or made by one spouse or the other. More accurately describes whether there is involvement rather than who decides a particular matter.

WOMEN ON THE FARM

Willsee, Honore
Harper's Weekly, pp. 32-34, July 11, 1914.

Report on the discontent of farm women: their hardships, isolation, and anonymity. Recognition of this problem by the Department of Agriculture in terms of rural women's unpaid contribution to society. Seen in terms of farm efficiency, and that the woman's role is domestic and her responsibility is to contribute to the social life of the farm to make it "pleasant."

USE OF TIME BY OREGON HOMEMAKERS

Wilson, Maud
Oregon State Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 256, November, 1929.

Study of the time distribution of 288 Oregon farm homemakers, 71 country non-farm homemakers and 154 non-country, non-farm homemakers include hours spent on all the activities during a day. Farm homemakers were found to spend longer hours working.

FORMAL PARTICIPATION OF MIGRANT HOUSEWIVES IN AN URBAN COMMUNITY
Windham, Gerald O.
Sociology and Social Research, 47:201-209, January, 1963.

> The association between migrant status and the formal social participation patterns of 1,470 married, white housewives in the Pittsburgh metropolitan area is examined. Wives who have always lived in Pittsburgh belong to more organized groups, attend more meetings and hold more power positions in organizations than do wives born in other cities or in rural areas. The relationship persists when education is controlled. However, participation is related to length of residence in the community.

Wise See Oldfield

APPENDIX B

Supplementary List to the Annotated Bibliography by Date of Publication

CITATIONS ORGANIZED BY YEAR, 1976 - 1900

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WOMEN IN THE AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT OF THE NORTHERN PLAINS
Hargreaves, Mary W.M.
Agricultural History 50(1):179-189, January, 1976.

WHY MORE FARM WOMEN ARE WORKING
Osterberg, Mary Lee and John N. Frank
Farm Wife News, 6(4), April, 1976.

COUNTRY WOMEN: A HANDBOOK FOR THE NEW FARMER
Tetrault, Jeanne and Sherilyn Thomas
Doubleday/Anchor, New York. 1976.

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Agricultural Education Magazine, 47(12), June, 1975.

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Agricultural Education Magazine, 47(12):269,276, June, 1975.

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Current Farm Economics, Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station, 39-49, 1975.

INSPIRATION'S THE SOLUTION
Kren D.
Agricultural Education Magazine 47(12):284, June, 1975.

WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE IN A TWO-YEAR COLLEGE
Kuznik, Anthony
Agricultural Education Magazine, 47(12), June, 1975.

WOMEN IN URBAN AGRIBUSINESS
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SHOULD WE ENCOURAGE WOMEN TO ENTER AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION?
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APPENDIX C

Bibliography of Women in Rural Areas Worldwide, 1967 - 1975

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APPENDIX D

Bibliographic Addendum

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ADDENDUM

The following list consists of entries arranged alphabetically by the author's last name which are not included in the previous sections for various reasons. Some do not fit the specific requirements for the earlier sections, but are closely related to the topic of rural women. Some are unpublished papers. Others could not be located although in some cases this may be due to the fact that the original reference was incomplete or incorrect. Others are articles that are "deadends." Appropriate comments follow the entries. Where no comment is made, it indicates a related article. Corrections and additions to this list or the previous bibliographies are welcome and will be added to a computerized master list file. Send to:

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Could not locate.

THE FARM WOMAN'S PROBLEMS
Ward, Florence E.
U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1920.

Could not locate.

WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT IN VEGETABLE CANNERIES IN DELAWARE
Bulletin of the Women's Bureau No. 62, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., 1927.

WOMEN IN THE FRUIT-GROWING AND CANNING INDUSTRIES IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON: A STUDY OF HOURS, WAGES AND CONDITIONS
Bulletin of the Women's Bureau No. 47, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., 1926.

APPENDIX E

Bibliography of Bibliographies of Women in Rural America

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS

WOMEN AND WORLD DEVELOPMENT--AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
Buvinic, Mayra
American Association for the Advancement of Science
Overseas Development Council, March, 1976.

1976-1977 CATALOG BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE APPALACHIAN SOUTH
(Includes a section on MOUNTAIN WOMEN)
Council of the Southern Mountains Bookstore,
CPO 2307, Berea, KY 40403.

WOMEN IN RURAL SOCIETY--AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
Kestner, Jean
Commonwealth Bureau of Agricultural Economics,
Oxford, March, 1972.

Includes entries published between the years 1967-1971.

WOMEN IN THEIR SOCIETY: A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PAKISTAN AND OTHER ISLAMIC COUNTRIES
Mayo, Molly
Ford Foundation, Islamabad, Pakistan, January, 1976.

WOMEN AND THE APPLACHIAN REGION: A BIBLIOGRAPHY
Mielke, David M.
The Center for Continuing Education, Appalachian
State University, Boone, North Carolina, October, 1976.

RURAL WOMEN WORKERS IN THE 20TH CENTURY: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
Moser, Collette and Deborah Johnson
Center for Rural Manpower and Public Affairs,
Special Paper No. 15, Michigan State University,
East Lansing, Michigan, August, 1973.

APPENDIX F

Periodicals Concerning Women in Rural America

PERIODICALS CONCERNING WOMEN IN RURAL AMERICA

A. General

AMERICAN AGRI-WOMEN NEWSLETTER
7907 Old Naches Road
Naches, Washington 98937.

COUNTRY WOMEN
Box 51
Albion, California 95410.

FARM WIFE NEWS
Suite 42
733 N. Van Buren
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202.

MOUNTAIN LIFE AND WORK
The Magazine of the Appalachian South
Council of the Southern Mountains
Drawer N
Clintwood, Virginia 24228.

RURAL AMERICA
Dupont Circle Bldg.
1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036.

THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL MAGAZINE
The Woman's National Farm and Garden Association, Inc.
Birmingham, Michigan

B. Historically, periodicals associated with the Associated Country Women of the World

WHAT THE COUNTRY WOMEN OF THE WORLD ARE DOING
Chapman and Hall Ltd., London, c1930.

THE COUNTRYWOMAN
Associated Country Women of the World, London, 1939-1955.

COUNTRY GENTLEWOMAN'S LEAGUE
Lane, Laura and Sara Bulette
Records, Reports and Papers of the ACWW, 1936-1955.

C. Periodical associated with the Women's Land Army, United States

THE FARMERETTE
Camp standards committee of the Women's Land Army of America, New York, 1918.

D. Periodical which later joined with Farm Journal

FARMER'S WIFE
Webb Publishing Company
St. Paul, Minnesota

Operated until 1939.

Corrections for the Bibliography may be sent to:

Bibliography of Women in Rural Areas
Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology
Weaver Building
The Pennsylvania State University
University Park, PA. 16802

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